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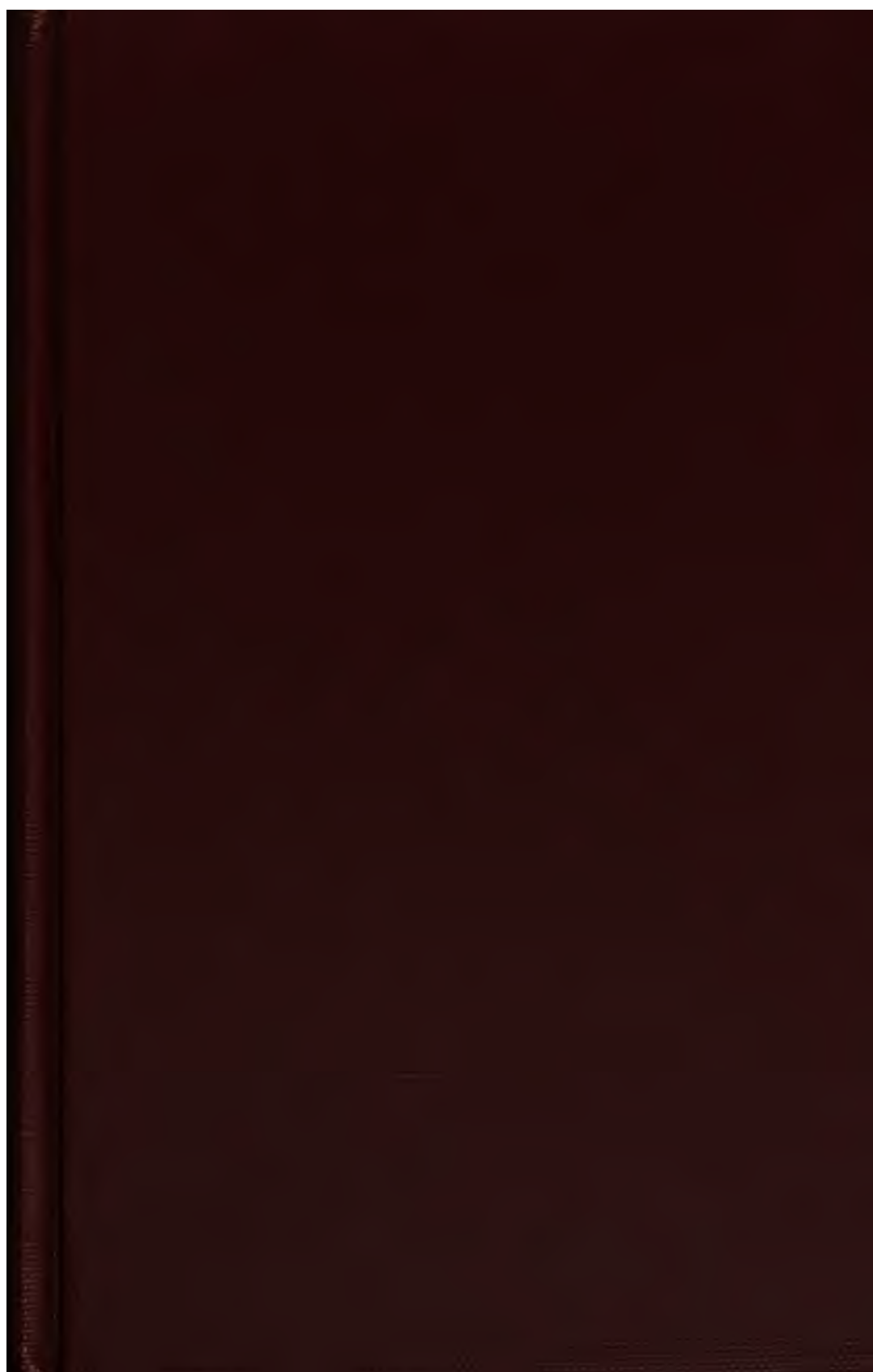
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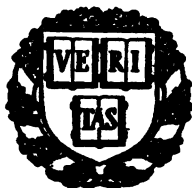
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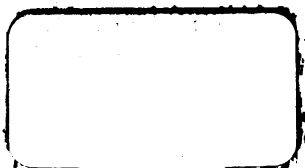
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FROM THE BEQUEST OF
FRANCIS BROWN HAYES

Class of 1839

OF LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS





G R E E C E,
IN
1823 AND 1824;
BEING A
SERIES OF LETTERS,
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS,
ON THE
GREEK REVOLUTION,
WRITTEN DURING A VISIT TO THAT COUNTRY.

A NEW EDITION,
CONTAINING
NUMEROUS SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE STATE OF
GREECE IN 1825.

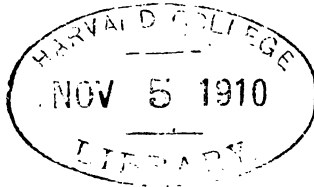
BY THE HONOURABLE
COLONEL LEICESTER STANHOPE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVERAL CURIOUS FAC-SIMILES.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
REMINISCENCES OF LORD BYRON.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, GILBERT, AND PIPER,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1825.

MG 369.1.2



Hayes fund

" Quid enim vel fortissimi olim viri, vel eloquentissimi, gloriosius aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quam vel suadendo, vel fortiter faciendo *ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ αὐτονομῶν ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας*? Verum et aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est, meâ quidem sententiâ longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, industriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo, suscitare atque accendere possit."—MILTON, *Epist. Fam.*

" For what have the bravest or the most eloquent men of old times held more glorious or more worthy of them, than either by persuasive speeches, or by gallant deeds, *to render the Greeks free and independent*? There remains, however, yet another thing, in my opinion, of far greater moment; that a man should arise, capable of rousing and exciting in the minds of the Greeks their ancient bravery, industry, and unwearied perseverance, by recalling them to their former studies."

TO

**CAPO D'ISTRIA,
THE FRIEND OF THE GREEKS,**

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

BY

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

November 1st. 1825.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

AMIDST the various struggles for liberty which have recently agitated the South of Europe, none has excited so strong and permanent an interest as that of the people of Greece. Doomed for ages to endure the iron yoke of a barbarous nation, alien from their feelings alike in origin, in habits, and in religion, the tyranny under which they groaned was rendered yet more insupportable by the galling recollection that their fathers had been free ; and that at a time when all the other inhabitants of the globe were in a state of slavery, Greece alone stood pre-eminent in the enjoyment of those republican institutions, which have continued to excite a higher degree of admiration, in proportion as the mind of man has become more enlightened, and, consequently, more capable of appreciating their merits.

The name of Greece is calculated to awaken and revive in every bosom feelings of the most pleasurable

and improving kind. With our earliest years we are taught to admire the energy and pathos of her poets; and, as we advance towards manhood, the genius of her historians, no less than the heroic actions which they have commemorated, become the favourite theme of our study. In the yet higher concerns of man, the culture of the mind and the administration of the state, the writers of Ancient Greece rise still higher, and approach, in many points, to that sublime system of ethics which characterizes the religion professed by their descendants. That such a Nation, descended from the warriors, the poets, the historians, and the philosophers, who present to us the noblest types of their respective classes, should have sunk so low in the scale of moral energy as to have become the unmurmuring slaves of a race of uncivilized infidels, was a phenomenon too remarkable to be overlooked, and too humiliating not to be universally deplored. From the school-boy to the statesman, all who had imbibed the slightest taste for literature, joined in the lamentation, and could only account for this apparent deviation from the usual course of things by the supposition that the modern Greek had degenerated from the talents and magnanimity of his forefathers; that the owl of Minerva had dwindled into a beetle, and that the sword of Achilles had been again exchanged for the needle and distaff of the effeminate attendant on the court of Lycomedes.

In this state of apparent moral degradation, the virtues of the Greek people did but slumber, their mental

and physical powers were not annihilated, and the fortunate moment at length arrived which enabled them to prove to the admiring world that they yet inherited a portion of those sublime energies, which had ennobled their renowned progenitors. Roused from the apathy of their long-borne suffering, they at once burst asunder the massy chains with which their tyrants had loaded them, and, strong in the majesty of regenerated freedom, Greece once more lifted up her head. Her infidel oppressors fled before her newly-awakened and irresistible energies, and in the course of a single campaign, the surface of Greece was almost entirely freed from the locusts who had so long devastated her plains. The tranquillity which they had purchased was not, however, of long duration; with the ensuing spring the oppressor returned, determined to inflict a tenfold vengeance upon those who had dared to emancipate themselves from his barbarous yoke; but he came but to be defeated, and was driven back, though not without leaving behind him traces of his remorseless track; in the desolation and ruin which every where marked his course. Again and again have these attacks been repeated, and always with the same result; still, however, the obstinate cupidity of their former masters strives to repossess itself of the fertile regions which have been wrested from their sway, and still are the Greeks compelled to defend their lives and liberties from those barbarous aggressors who yearly devastate their possessions.

Such, in brief, is the history of the Greek Revolution;

the warfare which it has produced has hitherto been entirely of a defensive nature on the part of the Greeks. Offensive operations have not yet been attempted by them, although absolutely necessary, in order to secure a defensible frontier, which shall serve as a barrier against future encroachments and attacks. Various circumstances have combined to prevent such operations from being carried into effect; one of the most important of which has been the want of union among the Leaders. This, how much soever it is to be regretted, and it has indeed been deeply lamented by every friend of Greece, may yet be regarded as a consequence almost necessarily resulting from the unsettled state of a nation just emerging from slavery into independence. At such a crisis there will always be found many men of nearly equal consequence, among whom jealousies will naturally arise, which are readily fomented by artful and interested intriguers into subjects of hatred and discord. It is happy for Greece that this unhealthy spirit has almost exhausted itself, and that a cordial union among the Chiefs appears to have taken place to such an extent, that the government may at length reckon on possessing that controlling power, without which its utmost exertions must ultimately prove of no avail. Dreadful as is War under all circumstances, and especially when the oppressed is armed against the oppressor, to avenge the accumulated wrongs and miseries of centuries, it is, perhaps, favourable to the formation of a settled government for the future, that the transition from slavery to

freedom should not be too immediate, inasmuch as a struggle of some continuance gives the people a fuller insight into the characters and motives of their Leaders, and enables them to make choice of the most deserving.

Another principal cause which may be mentioned, as confining the Greeks to defensive operations, has been the want of money, a want which they have on several occasions most severely felt. This difficulty has now, however, like the former, been removed, by the negotiation in England of a loan on account of the Greek Government, which is in course of payment, and which will enable it to overcome many of the obstacles which have hitherto embarrassed its naval and military equipments. Other causes which have induced this defensive line of policy might also be enumerated, particularly the wish on the part of the Greeks to demonstrate to the Sovereigns of Europe, that their exertions were directed solely to the recovery of their own independence, and by no means intended to disturb the tranquillity of their neighbours. By this cautious course the Holy Alliance have hitherto been deprived of that ever ready pretext of which they might otherwise have availed themselves, to interfere in her internal affairs, and thus to entail upon Greece, as the reward of her noble struggles, nothing but a change of tyrants, acting on the principles of her former oppressors, and differing from them only in name.

The reward, however, of her glorious efforts will, it is confidently anticipated, be very different from this dis-

astrotis result. During the momentous struggle in which she has been engaged, the public mind has been continually directed to subjects on which, under their former rulers, they dared not even think. The praises of liberty have been sounded in their ears, and the love of it has sunk too deeply in their hearts to be soon obliterated. It is principally in this point of view that the efforts of those distinguished foreigners who have exerted themselves in behalf of Greece have been most beneficial to her, and it is here that the Greek Committee of London justly bears away the palm of merit. The wide range and bold tone of political discussion, which have long prevailed in England, are universally acknowledged as the primary cause of the blessings which she possesses as one of the freest Nations of the Earth, and her sons, proud of the liberty which they enjoy, and deeply imbued with the warmest zeal for the source from which it was derived, have been constantly active in promoting the extension of its sway even to the remotest corners of the globe. Regenerated Greece presented to their view an ample and fertile field for the cultivation of its advantages, and the establishment of free presses and free discussion was looked forward to as the most effectual means of securing her national independence, as well as the personal freedom and security of her children.

It was at this period that Colonel Leicester Stanhope, whose exertions in behalf of the press in India are too well known to need repetition here, offered his services

to the Greek Committee to proceed to Greece in the character of their agent. His offer was received by the Committee with the highest satisfaction; that honourable body, which comprises among its members no inconsiderable portion of the rank and talent of England, anticipated from the exertions of such a man, the fulfilment of their most ardent wishes. That their expectations were not disappointed by the result is proved by the warm resolution of thanks which they voted to him on his return from his honourable mission. The following pages consist, principally, of the details given by him to the Committee, as to the steps which he was daily taking in furtherance of their generous designs, and will, doubtless, be found peculiarly interesting to every friend of the Greek Cause, the advancement of which forms the chief object of their publication.

Of the talents of Colonel Stanhope, of his devotion to the cause of freedom, and of his persevering zeal, as well in India as in Greece, in furtherance of the establishment of a free press, the great palladium of the liberty of the human race, the Editor feels that it would not become him to speak in the terms which would spontaneously flow from him on such an occasion. Under personal obligations, which he is now, as at all times, anxious most gratefully to acknowledge, to that tried and active promoter of "the greatest good of the greatest number," the praise which he might offer would naturally become suspected. From this he will, therefore, abstain; but he has held it a bare act of justice to put on record,

among the documents which compose the Appendix to this volume, some portions of the opinions of the venerable Bentham, and of others, well qualified to judge on the subject, and to offer a disinterested and unbiassed opinion. The testimonials of the distinguished merits of Colonel Stanhope, which he has there preserved, are indeed, almost unnecessary to the reader of the following pages, each of which bears ample evidence of a mind perseveringly and ardently devoted to the moral improvement of mankind, and through that to the increase of freedom and of happiness.

*Note from Col. Stanhope to the Editor, regarding the
Publication of this Volume.*

London, 1st Sept. 1824.

Dear Sir,

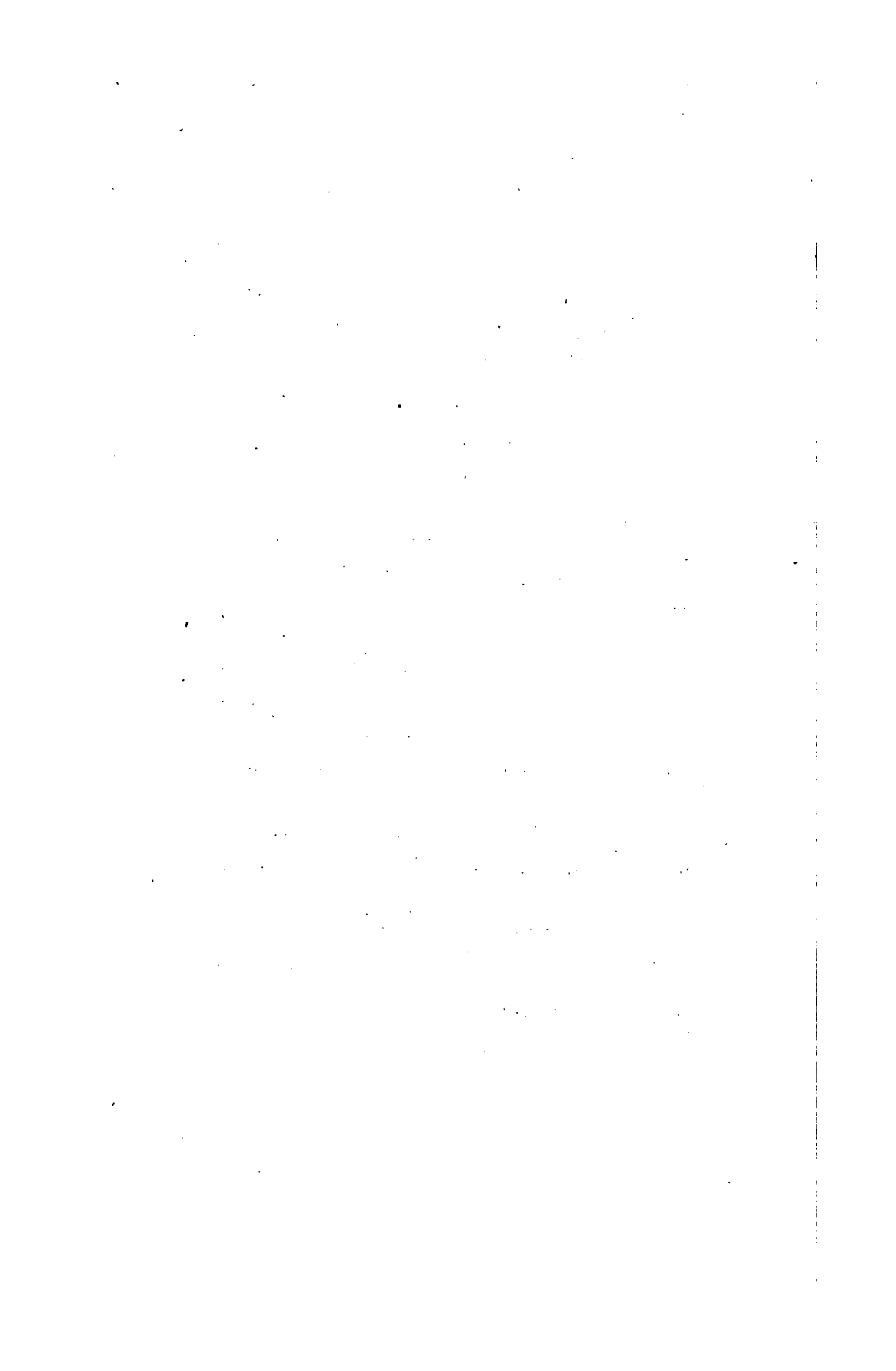
MANY persons have recommended me, and you have undertaken, to publish my Correspondence concerning Greece. I accept their counsel, and your kind offer. I must, however, state that most of these letters were written on the spur of the occasion, from huts and caves, or in the open air, and frequently in the midst of difficulties, mutiny, and a crowd of people. They are not even of an official character, but were addressed to my friend Bowring, for the information of the Greek Committee.

I leave you my Correspondence, and must bid you a hasty farewell, as I am just starting for the Continent.

Believe me very truly yours,

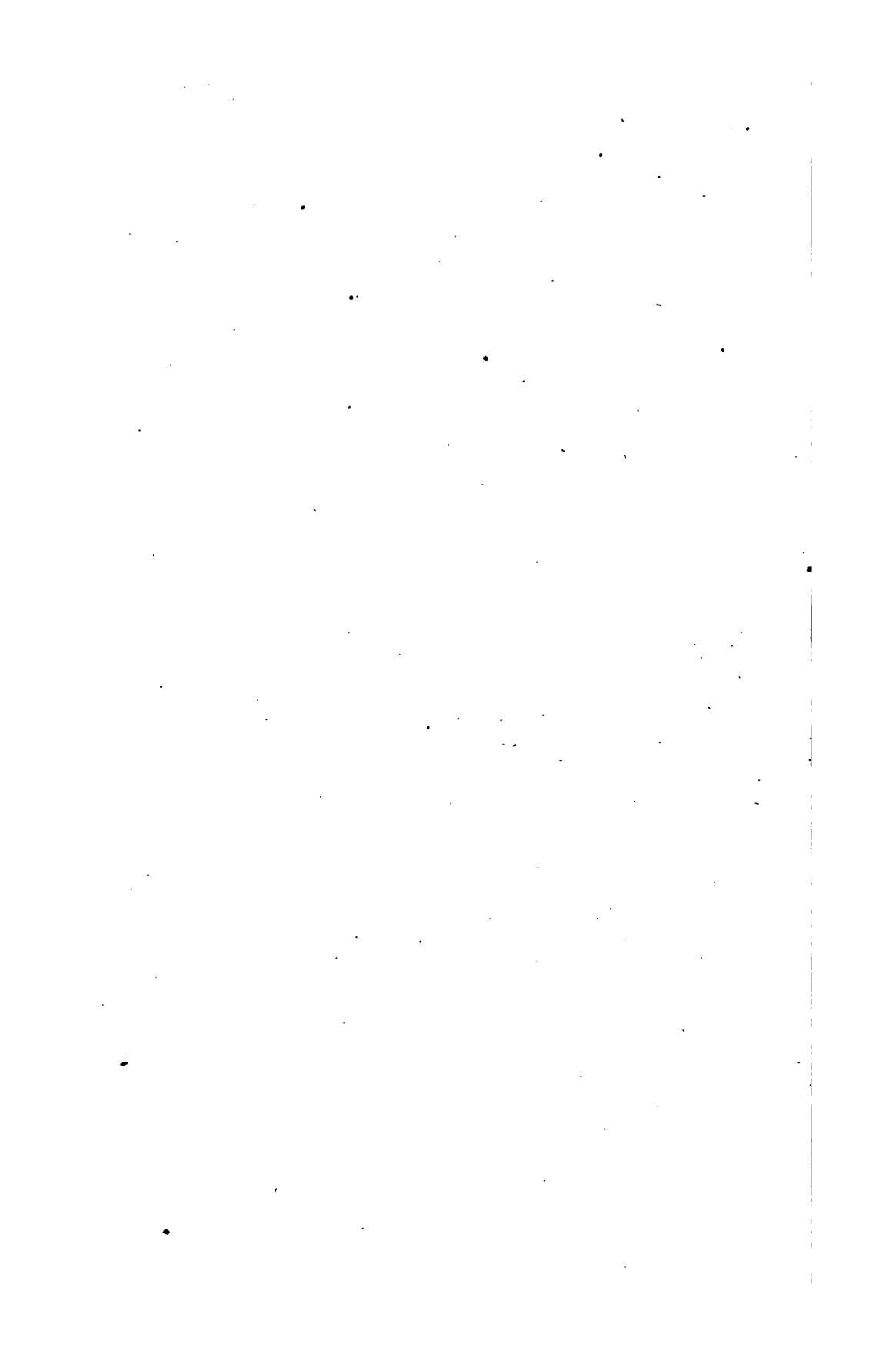
LEICESTER STANHOPE.

*To Mr. Richard Ryan,
&c. &c.*



The reader is requested to insert the following Note, 19th line of page 35, at the word *Parga*:—

* There is reason to believe that Colonel Stanhope was misinformed with respect to this affair, Mr. Brown having brought an action, and recovered damages, against the publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, in which (No. 57, Art. xi.) this imputation was first made against him.—Ed.



A
SERIES
OF
LETTERS,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Stable-Yard, St. James's,
14th September, 1823.

My dear Bowring;

HAVING understood that Captain Blaquiere's pursuits will detain him for some time in England, I venture to offer my services to the Committee, as his substitute, till his affairs shall enable him to proceed to Greece. In every thing except zeal I am conscious of my inferiority to Captain Blaquiere, and nothing but a conviction that his useful exertions are for the present unavailable would induce me to come forward with an offer to fill his place.

Should my services be accepted, I shall consider my-

B

self the servant of the Committee just as much as if I was paid for the performance of the duty.

In my way to Tripolitza, I should propose to confer with the Swiss and German Committees, and to establish an efficient system of co-operation, without *shackling* our efforts.

On my arrival in Greece I might be usefully employed under Lord Byron in conferring with the government on the disposal of the services of those officers whom the Committee have sent ~~thither~~ : in making arrangements for the formation of the laboratory-establishment, and in selecting proper persons to work in that department; in recommending the introduction of discipline in the Greek armies, and in pointing out the means of effecting that object; in endeavouring to improve the discipline of their irregular troops, by instructing them in the use of their arms, in the attack and defence of places, and in the construction of field-works. It would, also, be matter of vast importance to promote a general system of useful education, in which the use of arms should not be neglected.

The printing and lithographic presses should be properly disposed of, not to the government, but to the public; and intelligent and honest men should be stimulated to express and publish their thoughts freely.

I am, &c.

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

[Vide Appendix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.]

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

Redstadt, 6th October, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

ON my arrival at Darmstadt, on the 4th instant, I called on the two Messrs. Hoffman. Both, unfortunately, were absent. I next addressed myself to the President, Monsieur Hoepfner. This gentleman complained much of the conduct of the Greek government towards the German corps: the Capitani, he said, were jealous of them; they had been left inactive and destitute of all succour. The German and Swiss Committees had, in consequence, come to a resolution to order the legion home, unless the Greek government would supply them with the means of subsistence.

In reply to these remarks, I observed, that the Greek chiefs, though too aspiring, were wisely jealous of the interference of foreigners; that so far from wishing to curb this spirit, it should be fostered, as calculated to root in the public mind a hatred of foreign dominion, whether exercised by Turk or Tartar; and that the only reason for employing foreign troops was some case of emergency, or for the purpose of communicating and spreading knowledge in the various branches of the art of war. Upon this principle, and to this end, all our succours should be employed. As to the policy of sending the troops back to Germany, that measure should only be warranted by a want of funds, which, under the present prospect of obtaining a loan, could not be anticipated; and that, under even the most unfavourable

circumstances, there was reason to hope that a number of those Germans might be employed in the laboratory. It may be well here to remark that, according to Mr. Hoepfner's estimate, a soldier may be subsisted in Greece at the rate of one guinea per month, and for £14 may be sent back to Germany.

I then put various questions to Mr. H. and solicited a written answer to the following, viz.—

1st. Whether any aid to a Greek loan could be obtained in Germany, and how that measure could be furthered?

2d. What measures were adviseable with respect to the German corps in Greece?

3d. Whether it would be desirable to establish a joint committee in Greece, consisting of one English, one German, and one Swiss member?

4th. By what means he thought a safe communication could be established between Greece and Germany? and

5th. In what manner the feeling in Germany could be excited in favour of the Greeks, so as to baffle the efforts of the Turks, to avert the power of Russia, and to confound the wily arts of the holy league?

To these questions I received the following answers. [Vide Appendix, No. 4.]

As far as these points are connected with my duties, they shall be scrupulously attended to.

I furnished the Darmstadt Committee with all Captain Blaquiere's able reports, which they have agreed to publish in the papers. I also gave them a list of the Consuls of the Levant Company, which they promised to publish, and to animadvert on their ungenerous con-

duct. The Darmstadt Committee are desirous of giving publicity to Mr. Canning's schoolboy Essay on the Rise and Fall of the Greeks. They will add to it such a commentary as they may deem useful to the cause. Colonel De Launay has had a conference with the Darmstadt Committee: they think well of him. He is now at Zurich, where I expect to meet him in a few days.

Not wishing to check my progress, I have resolved ✓ not to go to Stutgard. The North and South German and Swiss Committees are in such close alliance, that, by conferring with those of Darmstadt and Zurich, all my business may be accomplished. I trust that you and the Committee will approve of my determination.

I am yours,

L. S.

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME.

Bern, 10th October, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

FROM Darmstadt I travelled with a Prussian ✓ officer of hussars. Much of our conversation was about the Landwehr, as I thought that parts of the system might be applicable to the Greek constitutional force. I was happy to learn from this hussar that flogging had been entirely abolished in the Prussian army. I was, however, shocked to reflect that, while we imitated the Prussians so closely in our tactics, our discipline, and even in our dress, we should differ from them only in

this most barbarous custom ; and that those valiant soldiers who had never lost a field in the peninsula should still be subjected to the worst and severest code of any perhaps in Europe.

I reached Zurich on the 8th of October, and immediately called on M. Hirzel, of the Greek Committee : I found him honest and enlightened. I put a number of questions to him for the consideration of the Committee, similar to those previously proposed at Darmstadt.

On the same night the Committee assembled. Mark well the character of the meeting. President, Monsieur Hirzel, Secretär der Justiz und Polizey. Members, Professor Foest, Oberschreiber am Obergericht und Mitglied des Geheimen Raths, Major Foest, Monsieur Hess, Pfarrer an der Waisenkirche, Professor Hollinger, Dr. Hans Locker, &c. The questions were put by the President. He then called upon me to explain the object of each measure, and afterwards on each member in rotation to give his opinion. The measures having been approved, I was next desired to state what the London Committee had done, and what they had in contemplation.

I told them that the London Committee consisted of some of the most eminent scholars, members of parliament, soldiers, merchants, and virtuous men in England. I mentioned the names of Bentham, Erskine, Mackintosh, Hume, Hobhouse, and the Russells. I said that the grand object of the Committee was to give freedom and knowledge to Greece. To this end they had given publicity to their sentiments, as also to the sufferings and heroic actions of the Greeks, which they

conceived calculated to excite the public mind of Europe in their favour, and even to check the impious intentions of tyranny and ambition. In this they had, perhaps, partly succeeded. At all events, more favourable measures had lately been pursued by the British Government. They had observed the law of nations ① in the blockade, and had afforded an island as an asylum ② to the Greeks. With respect to pecuniary contributions in their favour, I stated that Colonel Gordon had expended nearly £20,000; that Lord Byron had devoted to their cause his genius and his purse; that the Quakers, with their usual liberality, had gathered above £8,000; and that the subscription, set on foot by the Greek Committee, was still in progress. The grand object of the Committee, however, was to impress on the public mind the stability and security of the Greek ③ government, and to procure her an efficient loan. Already £100,000 had been offered, and there was reason to hope that a larger sum would be obtained, on high but not unreasonable terms. This loan would ④ enable the Greek government to establish a disciplined military and naval force.

To communicate knowledge to the Greeks was an object the Committee had near at heart. From this source spring order, morality, freedom, and power. The venerable Bentham, with a spirit of philanthropy as fervent, and a mind as vast as ever, had employed his days and his nights in contemplating and writing on the constitution of Greece, and in framing for her a body of rational laws, the most useful of human offerings. The mighty power of the press of England had been

exerted in favour of Greece. The *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews* had both ably advocated the cause. The latter had especially recommended the Committee to furnish the Greeks with the means of acquiring knowledge. The Committee had sent out lithographic and other presses to Greece, and hoped soon to hear of their having been instrumental in the diffusion of knowledge. The Committee and the Quakers both contemplated sending out schoolmasters. Two Greek youths were educating by the Foreign School Society, and three schools on the Lancasterian principle were said to have been established in Greece. Mr. Bentham had also directed me to send home two intelligent Greek boys, for the purpose of their being first instructed, and then employed as teachers for the diffusion of useful education. The Committee contemplated sending to Greece many elementary works on education, on the sciences, on agriculture, and on the art of war. Feeling strongly that Greece could not long maintain herself without military discipline, they had been, above all things, anxious to promote that object. They had, for this purpose, sent out to Greece officers of engineers, of artillery, of infantry, and cavalry; also, a most able fire-master, and several mechanics for the manufacture of all the materials of war—cannon, mortars, carriages, arms, Congreve-rockets, Schrapnel-shells, gun-powder, &c.

instruction
in Greece

This explanation of the conduct of the London Committee seemed to satisfy the meeting. [Vide Appendix, No. 5.]

In my next letter I shall speak of the policy of

establishing the military system of Switzerland in Greece; also of my interviews with Monsieur Fellenberg and the Count Capo D'Istria.

I have discovered a most efficient instructor in the person of Professor Stähele. He is said to be a man of moral character, and highly liberal. He is well informed in the ancient and modern languages, as also in the sciences, and pursues the system of Pestalozzi. I have written to him at Chur, and have desired him to communicate to you and me his opinions as to the most efficient means of introducing instruction into Greece, and also as to the terms on which he would be willing to proceed thither.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME.

Geneva, 13th October, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

I TRAVELLED from Zurich to Bern with two very intelligent persons. The one, Professor Leppe, who had been an assistant under Mr. Fellenberg, and has established an academy, on his principle, at Lenzburg; the other, a Colonel of the Swiss staff, who owns the castle where lived the tyrant Gessler. Monsieur Leppe confirmed all I have said in favour of Professor Stähele; he gave me letters to Messrs. Fellenberg and Pestalozzi. The Colonel afforded me some information about the military system of Switzerland.

He calculated the whole expense of the army, consisting of 60,000 men, from twenty to thirty years of age, at about £60,000 per annum. He told me that the military schools, the staff, the artillery, the engineers, the infantry, and sharp-shooters, were all well informed in their duties, and that the cavalry was the only defective arm. Every branch of the service is assembled and exercised for about one month in the year, and the whole body is ready to march at one day's notice. It is evident that a militia of this description cannot be equal on their first taking the field to a more exercised army. The Swiss, however, like the Greeks, having a strong country, can act on the defensive till they become perfectly *aguerried*. The Colonel gave me a list of all the books that apply especially to the system. These I shall procure and present them to the Greek senate.

Phil Hellens { In addition to this system, I think the Committee would do well to send out by Parry the American ordinance. I have great satisfaction in acquainting you that all the Greeks and Philhellenes, to the amount of one hundred and sixty, who had sought refuge in Germany and Switzerland, have been sent to the Morea. Of this number eighty have been disciplined.

Many well-informed persons have assured me that, on the Greek loan being properly announced, the debentures to a considerable amount would be purchased in Germany and Holland. Upon this subject you should address Messrs. Höpfner and Co.

I beg leave to suggest to the Committee the probable advantage of soliciting the society in India to subscribe to the Greek cause and to the loan. Mr. Campbell and

Mr. Buckingham, Dr. Gilchrist and Colonel Young, could further this object on being applied to; the ~~two~~ last might be added to our Committee. Be pleased to state to Mr. Bentham that I put a copy of his works into the hands of Monsieur Hirzel, who will place them in the public library at Zurich, where they will be read by the friends of freedom.

I had an interview with Monsieur Fellenberg, at Hofwil. He takes a strong interest in the cause of Greece. The Count Capo D'Istria had been for some time with Monsieur F. and had left him on the day of my arrival. He was desirous of soliciting the Count to return; but, on my telling him I was pressed for time, he said it mattered not, he would give me a letter to the Count at Lausanne. I then expressed my fear that Capo D'Istria was under obligations to Russia, and that he might wish to place Greece under the *protection* of that power,—protection that would entail dependence. “No,” said Monsieur Fellenberg; “he is a Greek.” He then asked whether we had no selfish—no English interest in view? (I assured him that we wished to see Greece, her people, her soil, her commerce, and her press, free as their thoughts.) Monsieur F. said, if Capo D'Istria had heard you express that sentiment he would have embraced you. He told me that (Capo D'Istria's object was to preserve the Greek character, to which he attributed her success.) To this end he proposed to establish an academy in Switzerland, exclusively for the youth of Greece. I said that the movement should be onward—not backward. Monsieur F. informed me that the Count was now educating a number of Greek boys in France and Switzerland in

the military art, in ancient languages, in architecture, sculpture, painting, in short, in all the sciences.

I reached Bern on the 10th instant: Sir Thomas Maitland was there, on his way to the Ionian Isles. On my arrival at Lausanne, on the 12th, I found that the Count Capo D'Istria was living at the same inn. I sent him my letters, and he received me with great kindness. He commenced his discourse by a diplomatical and historical sketch of the modern history of Greece. He then spoke of the course pursued by Russia and England, glozing over the conduct of the former. He said that Lord Londonderry's desire was to render Greece as insignificant and harmless as possible, and to make her people like the spiritless natives of Hindoostan; that he had recommended him to pursue an enlightened and liberal course towards the Ionian Islands; but that he (Lord L.) had not a mind to look deep into things, nor a soul to act nobly. He then began to hint at the selfish and commercial views of England. I replied that we had no fears for Greece on the side of Turkey, that what we feared was internal commotion excited by the military chiefs. We feared, too, Russia; her invasion, even her protection, we feared. The Count resumed by observing that the Committee had done, and might still do, great good, but that we must not attempt to Anglicanize Greece. I replied that we rather wished to Americanize her. The Count thought our end should be to enlighten Greece and to act upon utilitarian principles. (Yes, said I, Count, but do you think that the *Sainte Alliance* will allow Greece to establish a virtuous republic.) His Excellency spoke as well as could be expected; he beat about the bush, and then said that it

was not in the nature of things that monarchs should encourage republics; he added, that, if England acted nobly and sided with Greece, no power could succeed against her.) Here I remarked that, though I had a favourable opinion of Mr. Canning's feeling towards Greece, I could trust to the honesty of no government; my only confidence lay in the free and martial spirit of Greece. If she could enjoy two years of pure liberty, the enemy that invaded her would either waste to death in the attempt, or else, by a re-action, be herself revolutionized. (The Count highly approved of my wish to introduce the military system of Switzerland into Greece.) He also thought it a matter of the very first importance that Lord Hastings, or some enlightened man, should be sent to the Ionian Isles. "If," said he, "your Committee can effect this object, and obtain a loan, they may prove themselves the saviours of Greece. You should not, however, forget that if England can have her Committees, so also may Russia." After this I made my bow to the Count, and he expressed a wish to have another conference with me at Geneva.

I promised to introduce Capo D'Istria to Lord Hastings, but I have since learnt that his Lordship has left Geneva. They will meet at Rome, where the Count is going on account of his health. His health may be the cause, but Rome is nearer to Greece than Geneva.

I am, truly, &c. &c.

L. S.

P.S.—All our measures have been carried with the Swiss and German Committees. They have appointed a joint committee to act in Greece, of which M. Reinecke is the Swiss, and M. Deutsch the German,

member. They could not have selected better persons. They have agreed to place their troops in Greece at the disposal of the Committee, and to use their influence to promote the loan. I found the Committees very much irritated against the *Capitani* and the people of Greece. It was my business to show them that a people long enslaved could not be all virtuous; that the warriors and chiefs whose heroic conduct had saved their country could not be expected to have yet limited their ambition; and that a government so situated must bend to circumstances, however noble its intentions. I then traced all the favourable feeling that had been excited to the Swiss and Geneva Committees, who had first roused the people of England to useful exertion. In short, the despondency which prevailed is changed into hope and zeal, which will beget fresh efforts.—L. S.

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME.

Geneva, 18th October, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

I HAVE been detained here in collecting books of, and information from, eminent men.

Following the spirit of Mr. Hume's instructions, I have obtained the Geneva budgets of the four last years. The principles of economy pursued by that government are calculated to benefit the society under its influence, and are especially applicable to the state of Greece. No less applicable to Greece is the military system of

Switzerland. The Count Capo D'Istria, Colonel Dufour, who defended Corfu, and M. Dumont, all agreed with me on this point. A new military code and organization is to be the work of the next sessions at Geneva, and M. Dumont defers going to England in consequence. Surely it is matter of vast importance to make their military organization generally known, as connected with the cheap defence and liberties of nations. I consider that even the Landwehr of Prussia is a power that may one day overthrow despotism in that quarter.

I have had another instructive conference with Capo D'Istria. It will be gratifying to the Committee to learn that all his ideas are in coincidence with their own. I regret to hear from him that the Prince Mavrocordato is living in one of the Isles, and that (Lord Byron is still at Cefalonia.) This looks as if all were not sound in Denmark. The Count told me that he considered the conquest of Candia of immense importance. I asked if the Turkish commandants in the forts could be bribed. He was of opinion that they could not, because their government had selected them on account of their being great landed proprietors. He considers Mavrocordato a man of great probity and finesse—qualities that are rarely found together, but very essential in his situation.

Monsieur Lütcher, President of the Greek Committee at Geneva, solicits, in a letter to me, of which I enclose an extract, the aid of the friends of Greece in England. (Vide Appendix, No. 6.)

I have purchased several works on legislation for Greece. At Geneva, great progress is making in this

most useful branch of political science. *Le Recueil des Loix de Genève* is the nearest approximation to the system of Bentham that has as yet been accomplished. It works well; and even the old, so prone to prejudice, approve it highly.

I am yours,

L. S.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

Milan, 25th October, 1823.

My dear Bowring,

I ARRIVED here yesterday. Mr. Schinas's friend, the Chevalier Mustoxidi, is honest and intelligent. I have endeavoured to obtain from him information about Greece.

(The Chevalier thinks that Russia wishes to confer benefits on Greece; to gain over, by generous acts, some of the principal families; and then, when occasion offers, slyly to assist Greece in the management of her concerns, and in the protection of that strong bond of union—their common faith.) Austria he considers in a state of perplexity. She dreads the spread of liberal principles in the neighbourhood of Italy and her own frontier, and still more the aggrandisement of Russia. England, he says, has changed her conduct with the change of circumstances. So long as Greece could be retained in a state of thralldom and insignificance she was content: but finding that the Greeks had started from their

chains,—that they must either become a substantive state of importance, or a dependent one to swell the pride and power of an already preponderating empire, she now wishes to model her into a monarchy of federal states. To generalize all these interests, the Chevalier thought that these three powers would endeavour to place the son of the late King of Sweden on the throne of Greece. In that event, he must commence his course by changing his faith (if he has any):—the Mogul, circumcised and then baptized, might be quite as acceptable to the commonwealth. Nothing, he imagined, was more likely to thwart interference in the affairs of Greece, than a treaty between the belligerents, on the basis of the acknowledgement by the Porte of the independence of Greece, on condition of the latter paying an annual tribute.

The Chevalier is of opinion, that quiet steps should be taken to gain over the Servians from Russian, Turkish, and Austrian interests: this effected, the course of Greece would be more secure. To this end he recommends that some competent person should proceed thither to probe the state of feeling in that quarter, preparatory to the adoption of more decisive measures. Mons. M. thinks a negotiation should be entered into with the Pacha of Egypt, to render him independent. This might spread, and could not fail to prove a powerful diversion. Mons. M. at my suggestion, has agreed to write a short historical pamphlet on the conduct of our government in the Ionian Isles. I have recommended him to select a number of strong facts, and to state them in so soft a tone that even the sensitive nerves of delicate politicians may not shrink from their

perusal. This pamphlet will be sent over to the Greek Committee for dispersion in the newspapers. The Chevalier is of opinion that the Greek government should again, in becoming language, solicit the Pope to take an interest in the holy cause in which they are engaged. He should be reminded of the instances in which his predecessors have endeavoured to excite the sovereigns of Europe to act against the Turks; and this appeal should be so framed as to touch the feelings of the Christian world. At my solicitation the Chevalier has agreed to send me the draught of a letter to that effect. I shall submit it to the Greek government for consideration. Mons. M. recommends the cultivation of the silk-worm and the vine in Greece. The former especially would prove a mine of wealth to them, that may immediately be converted into money. I shall endeavour to procure works on these subjects. To raise the feeling of the people, the Chevalier suggests that a prayer in favour of their sacred cause should be introduced into the *quotidien*; also, that a selection should be made of the great events recorded in Grecian annals, that they should be narrated in plain language, and published in a series of letters in the newspapers, for the information of the people. I asked him how the military chiefs could be rendered subservient to the government? He said, by the latter acting virtuously and deserving the confidence of the people, and by a loan, which would enable the state to pay and reward honourable services. (This gentleman suggests, that a society and a museum should be formed in Greece; by means of which all records and antiquities should be preserved, and every event of importance registered.) Pray favour

me with information on this subject. I think Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Foster, of Liverpool, should be consulted. (The Chevalier is of opinion that a Greek Committee might be formed at Florence.) I told him I feared much that such generous spirits could not breathe in the Boeotian atmosphere of the Holy Alliance. They would immediately be converted by the three great magicians into carbonari. In this letter I have purposely avoided giving the names mentioned by Mustoxidi. I start from hence to-morrow. At Bologna, at Florence, and at Pisa, I have to confer with men of eminence.

I am, &c.

L. S.

P.S. I remained two days after my business was completed at Genoa, in the hope of receiving Mr. Bentham's manuscript. It came not, and I reluctantly departed without it. I have directed it to be sent after me by the post, and have also spoken about it to Mons. Dumont.

I am, yours,

L. S.

LETTER VII.

TO THE SAME.

Florence, 2d Nov. 1823.

My dear B.

MONS. JACOVAKY RIZO gave me the following information. The Hydriots and Spetziots, in virtue of a promise formerly made to them, wished to settle

✓ their families at Napoli di Romania. Colocotroni, it seems, opposed this measure, upon which the islanders refused to act. Mavrocordato was, in consequence, sent to Hydra to conciliate them, and to persuade them to equip their fleet. He succeeded; they set sail, had a naval engagement with the Turks, between Tenedos and Mitylene, and took and burnt five or six vessels. Mavrocordato has returned to the Morea. Mons. Rizo thinks it a matter of the greatest importance to promote concord among the Capitani, and their subordination to the government. To this end he recommends my having personal conferences with the chiefs, for the purpose of convincing them that neither they nor their country can prosper, unless they act in concert. Servia he considers completely under the influence of Russia, because the Servians acquired their privileges under the protection of that government. The Turks, it ✓ seems, have secured four of their principal chiefs as hostages at Constantinople. Albania, though a large portion of its population are Turks, is by no means attached to the Porte. A supply of provisions going to Corinth has been taken by the Greek fleet, and that place is now treating; it is by no means strong, and might be taken in two days. Patras is held by a great ✓ Turkish proprietor, and the wealth contained in it is considerable. This has excited the avarice of the various Greek chiefs, and their dissensions have hitherto prevented its capture. Modon and Coron are strong places, but not of much importance.

• Mons. Rizo thinks that Greece will afford a most advantageous refuge for our superfluous population.

• I am going to have an interview with the Prince

Caradgia this evening. To-morrow I proceed to Pisa.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

Mons. R. thinks that if the Greeks are to have a king, the Prince of Cobourg would be as acceptable as any that could be selected. } (X)

LETTER VIII.

TO THE SAME.

Pisa, 5th Nov. 1823.

Dear Bowring,

I ARRIVED here last night, and proceeded to business with the Metropolitan, Ignatius. He considers it a matter of first-rate importance that the London Committee should do all in their power to influence the British government in favour of Greece. England, he says, is the only power that can ensure her by a naval superiority. Turkey cannot, because her fleets are inferior; so, indeed, are her armies; and the more numerous these are the more difficult is their supply. Russia cannot invade the islands, because her fleet is not equal to cope with that of England, nor even with that of Greece; nor can she reach it by land without passing through the Turkish territory, which neither the Porte, nor England, nor Austria, would allow. It is true, that Russia looks with a steady eye to the conquest of Turkey; but ere this happens, Greece may be mighty and invulnerable. I am grieved to report to you, on

the authority of Ignatius, that Mavrocordato has resigned his office. It must be our endeavour to get him restored. The Metropolitan is of opinion, that a king should be placed on the throne of Greece. (No king—no bishops.) He would prefer a foreigner: the Prince of Cobourg, or the son of the deposed king of Sweden. I have observed that this monarchical spirit is prevalent among the Greeks. With many eminent writers, they think that democracies are not suited to large states, because they possess less vigour and promptness. They talk of the prosperity of the small republics, and the decline and fall of the large ones. They forget to cite the corruption and effeminacy, the disorders and convulsions, to which large monarchies are subject, and the stability and grandeur of America; she should, on the contrary, possess more of each, because the government should be on the spot, and they take the best means to have an efficient president.

The Metropolitan thinks that Corinth must soon fall, inasmuch as its supplies have been cut off. Patras could not hold out many days against a regular siege, because it is commanded, has no casemates, and is crowded with people. The possession of this fortress would secure the fall of Lepanto, and the command of that Gulf, and would prevent the Turks from effecting a landing in the Morea. There is a report that Mitylene has revolted. This would be an event of vast importance. The island has a warlike population of 300,000 Greeks and about 30,000 Turks. There are in it two strong fortresses. Its capture would enable the Greeks to shut the mouth of the Dardanelles, and might ultimately tend to the fall of Scio.

There is a manufacture of coarse gunpowder in the Morea, which Parry will, perhaps, be able to improve. There is, however, at present, an absolute want of gunpowder in that quarter. It would, I think, be a good speculation to send out a cargo of it, from the imperious necessity of its being purchased with money, goods, or promises.

The Metropolitan thinks it would be unwise to attempt to discipline the present bands, which have proved their wonderful efficiency. He would, however, have a disciplined force for the protection of the forts, important passes, &c.

All the public bodies and eminent men I have conversed with agree in the expediency of changing the character of the government of the Ionian Islands. The Russians and French contrived to conciliate the islanders by securing in their interest the aristocracy; while, on the other hand, Sir T. Maitland has selected the most inefficient and insignificant men to fill the offices of government,—creatures that would bow to his will. Both systems were founded in injustice; for morality prescribes that none but men of probity and talent should be selected to rule.

A notion seems to prevail on the continent, that England has a selfish policy in view towards Greece. I have endeavoured to impress a contrary conviction, founded on our interest. So long as Greece could be kept down by the Porte, the British government sanctioned her oppression. But the moment she freed herself, and the question was, whether she was to become a substantive state or to be added to Russia, no doubt could remain on the mind of any sane statesman; for it

never could be the interest of England to increase that vast empire by adding to her wealth, and raising her into an important naval power. There is a report here that Lord Byron has offered to raise and maintain five hundred men.

Bentham's works are much admired on the continent. The professor of law here, Carminiani, is quite of this mind. At the College of Bologna none but the Greeks and foreigners are allowed to read this author. I wish you would get Buckingham to publish "Truth versus Ashurst" in his Journal. No one that reads it can stick to the sophisms of Blackstone. And in British India, where a great revolution must take place in the laws, it would be of permanent importance that they should understand what a demon they have bowed down before and glorified.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER IX.

TO THE SAME.

Ancona, 11th November, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

THERE is settled in Ancona an intelligent Greek, who has a brother at Corfu. He has promised me to send you an account of all news that may reach him from Greece, and a fair statement of all acts of mal-administration in the Ionian Isles. He gave me the following information, derived from a respectable

merchant at Syra. The Turks have lately put in motion two strong columns: one from Larissa which directed its march towards Thermopylæ; this has been dispersed by Ulysses, and has returned to Zeitouni: the other, under the Pacha of Scutari, marched against Missolonghi; after much skirmishing, in which fell the famous Marco Bozzaris; and, after the Turks had actually commenced the assault, they were repulsed with considerable loss. Ten Greek vessels were preparing to sail towards Missolonghi, to attack the Turkish fleet of fifteen ships. Nine Greek vessels had been assailed near Sante Monte, by six Turkish frigates and seven corvettes; other ships of the combatants were in sight, but could not take part in the action. Both parties received great damage, without any decisive advantage being gained by either, except the glory obtained by the lesser fleet.

The Greek navy consists of fifty-two vessels, which are principally stationed off the Island of Skiatho, in the Archipelago. The Turkish fleet is near Lemnos and Mitylene. The Greek government is about to move from Salamina to Napoli; all the differences concerning the fortresses having been settled.

The following are the contents of a letter from Zante, of the 10th October, 1823. Missolonghi is blockaded by 12,000 Albanians, and another army of 4,000 Turks is at Castros, about eight leagues from that fortress. The Greeks have 8,000 men at Missolonghi, and expect further reinforcements from the Morea. Ten ships are also said to have reached Missolonghi.

It is reported that Mavrocordato has been sent as Civil Governor to Missolonghi, and that Mataxa is to

remain there as Prefect. (Patras appears to be the only important fortress which remains in the hands of the Turks.) It is commanded by a hill, from which a plunging fire might be poured down on the heads of the garrison ; and this hill has often been in the possession of the Greeks.

I can learn nothing about the Greek deputies that were to have been sent to England to negotiate the loan. Georgio Mavromichailis has left this for Zante, there to await the orders of his father. Some think that he will be sent to England with the deputies. I gave it as my opinion that some person of talent, and vested with large power, should be despatched forthwith. As connected with this subject, I have in vain attempted to obtain proper information concerning the resources of Greece. The Turkish port-duties were from three to four per cent. and the land-tax amounted to about ten per cent. besides the extortions of the governors and chiefs. The lands were possessed by the government, by the clergy, by Turkish proprietors, and by the Greeks. The possessions of the latter were chiefly in the hills. In consequence of the revolution, a large proportion of the land has become the property of the state, and it becomes a question how these lands should be disposed of? The wants of the Greek government are great, and the agricultural classes have no capital. Should this property be first leased out to ascertain its value, and then sold? Should it be put up to auction? Should it be sold in large or in small lots? Should it be sold to foreigners as well as natives? These are questions to which I solicit a detailed answer, for submission to the Greek government. Mr. Mill, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Hobhouse,

might be advantageously consulted on this point, and local information obtained from Captain Blaquiere and the Greek gentlemen of the Committee. Be pleased to observe that the Capitani, possessing all the power, have laid their hands on a portion of this property, and enriched themselves. Colocotroni is said to be worth a million of dollars; Ulysses, 400,000 dollars, &c.

I have made every necessary arrangement to secure the correspondence, and also for procuring the newspapers from the German and Swiss Committees.

The Pacha of Egypt is said to hate and dread the Porte. He is by no means hostile to the Greeks. To the refugees from Cyprus he afforded an asylum; and those Greeks who felt disposed were allowed to proceed, armed, to their own country.

Your letter of the 21st of October last, and one annexed from Mr. Bentham, have come safe to hand. I rejoice to learn that the Spanish Committee have consigned over 100,000 balls and 2,000 firelocks to the Greek Committee.* The intelligent soldier, mechanic, and agriculturist, whom you mention as going to settle in Greece, will be a most useful character there: he may command my services. The purchasing of land in Greece must prove an excellent speculation, and highly conducive to the improvement of agriculture and civilization in that quarter. I wish that you would send out, and that the government would receive, a number of these colonists: they could not raise money in a more advantageous manner. By this means they would reap and sow wealth at the same time. The surgeon and

* On this point Colonel S. was misinformed.—ED.

the stores will be highly acceptable. Orders shall be immediately sent to Jerostati to despatch Parry and the Anne from Corfu to its final destination. The British Consul here has been most kind to me; he has a promise to be sent to England with the first despatches that shall arrive from Corfu. He will go and be back again in Ancona in less than a month; so pray look out for him, and take advantage of his return. The German and Swiss Committees have appointed a committee of five members to act for them in Greece. They could not have selected better. Already we have in Monsieur Basilio Basili an able secretary, a Greek who speaks Italian and French. Pray address your letters to me either here, or at Zante, or to the seat of the Greek government. I shall make arrangements, at the two former places, to have them forwarded. If they are of consequence, address them either under cover to some one at Geneva, or, better still, to me, under the feigned name of A. B. Campbell, at Ancona. I have settled that they shall be forwarded to me from hence.

I beg of you to state to Mr. Bentham that I have received a letter from him of the 14th October last, with its enclosures, and also one of the 21st of the same month. I deeply regret to say that the one alluded to in the former, and bearing date the 10th October, has never reached me. There is some consolation, at least, in knowing that duplicates have been sent out under Parry's care. Could not some means be devised of obtaining proof of this fraud, of exposing and prosecuting the Emperor of Austria for the theft of the packet and of the money paid for its postage? Would that I had time to answer Mr. B.'s letters: they are the proud credentials which, however undeserved, I must

respect. They are enough to turn the head of a soldier, whose virtues grow out of his vanities. But to the point; I will do my utmost to comprehend these papers, and to place them in the channels of usefulness.

You may rely on the following fact. Since the year 1817 there has been a society established at Moscow, the object of which has been to revolutionize Greece. The president's name is (Nicolo Paximali.) One of its members, named Anastasio Jorgoglio, contributed 25,000 rubles. There was, however, another party of Greeks who were opposed to the society, and who wished to check its progress. This faction persuaded Jorgoglio that he had acted foolishly in giving the money, as it would not be advantageously expended; and the young man, being defective in judgement, acceded to their counsels, and called on the Committee to restore it. The president told him that it was despatched, and that it was not in his power to do so. Jorgoglio, resolved to reclaim it, applied to the government of Moscow to interpose their authority. Paximali explained that it was a voluntary gift, devoted to the service of his country. The government of Moscow declared that they could not decide the question, and referred it to St. Petersburg. The answer ultimately received was, that if the intentions of the Committee were not hostile to the Russian government, they were at full liberty to promote the interests of their country.

A Greek vessel, under national colours, a few days since, came into the port of Ancona. All the consuls assembled, pondered on the affair, and expostulated

with the local authorities. The latter called on Mr. Mela, a Greek gentleman resident in Ancona, to explain why the ship came under those colours. The ship, he said, was come for the purpose of commerce. They said the vessel could not be allowed to carry the flag. Mr. Mela replied that they would do wrong to drive her away, because this was a good opportunity to renew the commerce between the Levant and Ancona. They then determined that she must take down her colours while in port, and might hoist them again on going to sea.

I enclose herewith documents relative to the appointment of the Committee in Greece, and their instructions. (Vide Appendix, Nos. 7 and 8.) Colonel De Launay, Monsieur Kolbe, Secretary Basili, myself, and Greek servant, depart to-morrow morning for Cefalonia, to confer with Lord Byron; thence to Zante, Parga, and Napoli di Romania.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER X.

TO THE SAME.

Cefalonia, 26th November, 1823.

Dear Bowring,

I SAILED from Ancona on the 22d November, in company with Colonel De Launay, Messieurs Kolbe and Basili, and fifteen destitute Greeks from Russia, to whom a free passage was given. Off the

Gulf of Prevesa we met with a vessel which showed Austrian colours, and made us haul our wind. We feared that this might prove a Turkish cruizer, and were in a state of painful anxiety on account of our crew. It proved, however, to be a Greek vessel, which was proudly blockading the port.

We reached Cefalonia on the 22d November. At the Lazaretto, Count Gamba addressed me concerning Greece. He conveyed my letters to Lord Byron. His lordship has been here about three months; the first six weeks he spent on board a merchant-vessel, and seldom went on shore, except on business. Since that period, he has lived in a little villa in the country, in absolute retirement, Count Gamba being his only companion. His lordship is beloved by Cefalonians, by English, and by Greeks. Colonel Napier, the resident, is a good soldier and politician. He is a doing man, and, as far as depends on him, Cefalonia is well governed. He is making fine M'Adam roads all over the island.

The accounts received here about Greek affairs are not favourable. It is my duty to speak the whole truth to the Committee. Lord Byron, Colonel Napier, all, in fact, concur in representing the executive body as devoid of public virtue, and actuated by avarice or low ambition. The legislative body have always acted with great discretion. The armies and navies are ill spoken of by all Europeans: they, however, possess this redeeming quality, they are invariably successful. The primates have many of them exercised power under the Turks, and are, generally, vicious and devoid of honour. The clergy are illiterate, and not distinguished for their

morality. But what is most important is the character of the people. They are said to possess many of the vices of Asiatic nations; but they are sensible, shrewd, discriminating, anxious to acquire knowledge, and attached to the legislative body. M. Paraidi, Mavrocordato's secretary, called on me yesterday. He told me that Colocotroni had filled Napoli di Romania with his friends; that the legislative assembly had, in consequence, quitted it, and had settled at Argos. The executive body adhered to Colocotroni. I told the secretary that, while the government remained in this state of anarchy, they could expect no loan. He said that their hopes were fixed on Mavrocordato, and the expedition he was about to undertake. He was first to proceed with some ships and men to raise the blockade of Missolonghi, and then to make a descent opposite to Corfu, on the coast of Albania, where he calculated on a general rising.

Having received this intelligence, I proposed to Lord Byron, before M. Paraidi, to address the executive and legislative bodies, to represent to them the grief he felt at these calamitous dissensions, which must thwart all the exertions that had been made to obtain a loan for the Greeks; and the anxious hope he entertained that, for the safety and happiness of Greece, they would make a generous effort toward reconciliation. The object of the proposed measure was to force a reconciliation between the parties, or else to attach to the executive body the disgrace of having thwarted the loan, and thereby to render them odious to the people, and, consequently, powerless.

We have this moment received good news. The

Greek fleet has arrived at Calamatra. Troops will thence be embarked for raising the blockade of Missolonghi, and will then proceed to Albania. Petrobey is with the fleet, and Mavrocordato left Hydra seventeen days back to join it. You are aware, I presume, that Lord Byron has generously advanced £4000 towards the payment of the armament. This money is placed in the hands of three commissioners. The Turkish army before Missolonghi are said to be moving off by hundreds. I quite rejoice to tell you that Mr. Green's bills, to the amount of £2,000, have not been accepted at Constantinople. You are aware that Patras, the castle of the Morea, and Lepanto, have hitherto been supplied through this source, and that from these fortresses the army before Missolonghi also drew its supplies. Hence we may conclude that the Porte has no money; that the Turkish troops must speedily abandon the siege of Missolonghi; and that the fortresses above mentioned, being nearly exhausted by the supplies they have afforded, and having no English Consul to give them further succour, must soon fall.

Patras, as well as the Castle of Morea and that of Romelia, which are the gates of the Gulf of Lepanto, may be taken without much difficulty; so also may Lepanto, though stronger than the others.

You were wise in not sending the *Ann* to Napoli. I have written to Corfu, to desire Parry to proceed with the stores of the *Hope* and *Ann* to Cefalonia, there to remain till further orders. Should Missolonghi be in security, that will probably become our head-quarters for the present.

I have been seriously ill. I am now well, and pro-

pose, after seeing Mavrocordato and Petrobey, to proceed to Napoli and Argos, there to endeavour, with silky words and appalling facts, to conciliate the executive and legislative bodies. After this, call it vain, attempt, I shall return to Missolonghi, there to labour under Lord Byron, in the arrangement of all your views. The Deputies are detained at Corfu, in quarantine, and when released will proceed immediately to England. I think you should be silent and suspend operations relative to the loan, till you receive further authentic intelligence from Greece. I have a plan in my mind for the establishment of a post. Without the means of conveying ideas, neither military, nor commercial, nor political affairs can prosper. I also wish to establish hospitals and a dispensary. What is most wanted in Greece is a press, cautiously directed. Cautiously, on account of ears, noses, and heads. However, it is fair to say that the Greeks have not been guilty of enormities towards their Christian brethren. Towards the Jews, indeed, they have not displayed much milky kindness. Colocotroni, after Corinth had surrendered to other chiefs, despatched his followers thither, for the purpose of plundering. The friends of good government pretend that he has no great qualities. He was only brave the day before he became wealthy. They report, too, that he and his adherents are most unpopular. 28th November. The following account of a naval victory may be relied on. The Greek fleet, consisting of nine vessels, commanded by Miaulis, attacked eleven Turkish ships, near the Island of Skiatho. They fought for six hours. The result was glorious to the Greeks, who took one corvette of twenty-four guns,

three brigs, and one transport. Two of the remaining ships they burnt, four they drove on shore, and one only escaped.

I am grieved to say that the executive has refused to allow Mavrocordato to command the expedition, and he is still at Hydra. The Primates of Carnea and Missolonghi solicited the senate to send him to their aid, and the people of the latter addressed that body to the same effect. The Hydriots and Spetziots are also much attached to Mavrocordato. In short, the whole nation seem to look up to him as their friend. The garrison of Corinth, consisting of 500 men, was, according to capitulation, safely transported to Thessalonica. The place is now in possession of the Captains Stiako and Niketas. These persons are not in alliance. There is a Mr. Brown here, whom you will shortly see. He lost his situation at Corfu in consequence of having communicated to Lord A. Hamilton some intelligence respecting Parga. This gentleman has lately visited the Morea, and will be able to give you the best information on all points connected with its interests. I have been much puzzled where to send the articles brought out by the Hope and Ann. My thoughts turned on Missolonghi, on Athens, on Ægina, but at last we decided on sending them to Spetzia. The situation is good and secure, the people are friendly, and fuel, &c. are there to be obtained.

I am going immediately to Napoli and Argos, with a letter from Lord Byron to the general government of Greece. The object is to reconcile the factions, and, if we fail in this, to throw the odium of having thwarted

the loan on the offending party. This will cause a useful sensation at the ensuing elections. I will have the letter printed at Hydra, and spread it far.

Yours,

L. S.

[Vide Appendix, No. 9.]

LETTER XI.

A SUA ECCELLENZA IL PRINCIPE ALESSANDRO
MAVROCORDATO, ETC.

Zante, 7 Decembre, 1823.

Ho l' onore d' includere nella presente diverse lettere per vostra Eccellenza, da queste rileverete che sono inviato del Comitato Greco d' Inghilterra per agire in compagnia di Lord Byron, e far avanzare le viste di questo a favore della Grecia. Per arrivare a questo scopo credo che sia necessario di non attaccarmi a qualchisia partito; ma in ogni caso d' agire in concerto col governo per l' avanzamento del maggior bene del maggior numero del popolo Greco. Il Signor Basili, mio segretario, conosce bene tutti i miei sentimenti e vi metterà a giorno di tutto francamente e pubblicamente.

Il mio desiderio è grande d' avere l' onore di fare la conoscenza di vostra Eccellenza, e di explicarvi tutti gli oggetti della mia missione in dettaglio; per questa ragione desidero molto che vostra Eccellenza mi conceda un colloquio a questi parti prima di rendermi alla sede del governo.

Ho l'onore di essere con tutta stima e considerazione,

Di vostra Eccellenza

Umilissimo Servo,

L. S.*

LETTER XII.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Missolonghi, 13th Dec. 1823.

My dear Bowring,

I reached Missolonghi last night; and this morning made the acquaintance of Prince Mavroc-

* TRANSLATION.

To his Excellency Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, &c.

Zante, 7th December, 1823.

I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency a variety of letters, from which you will perceive that I have been deputed by the Greek Committee in England to act in concert with Lord Byron, and to further his views in favour of Greece. For the attainment of this object, I think it necessary not to attach myself to any party whatever, but to act in every case in concert with the government, for the advancement of the greatest good of the greatest number of the Greek nation. Signor Basili, my secretary, is perfectly acquainted with all my sentiments, and will frankly and openly put you in possession of them.

I am extremely desirous of the honour of becoming acquainted with your Excellency, and of explaining to you, in detail, all the objects of my mission, for which reason I am anxious that your

dato. He was surrounded by military chiefs, primates, and others. After the ceremony of introduction was over, I desired my secretary to read Lord Erskine's letter aloud. The company seemed moved by it, and I took that opportunity of mentioning to them that what they had just heard was the unanimous sentiment of the people of England. [Vide Appendix, No. 10.] I then spoke of a constitutional force, and said that we had derived the great features of our military system from the Greeks and Romans; and I regretted that, while they preserved the heroic spirit of their ancestors, they neglected to cultivate that system of close co-operation which distinguished their phalanxes, and gave them such a decided superiority over their foreign enemies. I then adverted to the establishment of a free press, of posts, of hospitals, of schools, &c. I endeavoured to represent the fatal effects of the disunion which prevails in the government, and which injures public credit, commerce, and all amicable connexions, and is calculated to excite the ambition and to promote the success of their enemies. I strongly urged the necessity of attacking Patras, the Castles, and Lepanto, the conquest of which would secure the Morea, deprive the enemy of the Gulph, and probably put the Turkish fleet in their possession. The

Excellency should grant me a conference in these parts, previous to my departure for the seat of government.

I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's

Most humble servant,

L. S.

means which I proposed for their adoption were these, namely, 1,000 irregulars, a corps of five German artillery-men, six twelve or eighteen pounders, two bombs, and Parry with his infernal fires.

The government have agreed to provision the artillery-men. I have written to Lord Byron to subscribe £300, towards paying them three dollars per month each, and have offered myself to subscribe £100. In three weeks I hope to have them from Napoli, and formed. The press will be at work in a fortnight. Parry has orders to come to Missolonghi, where the Seraglio will be prepared for his reception. The German artillery-men may be employed to guard and work in the laboratory. Mavrocordato will assist in promoting the dispensary. Pray urge the Quakers to send their money to me, instead of employing it in Italy, &c. A school shall be established as soon as we can obtain a master. I beg of the Quakers to send out some one immediately to establish their system in all its purity. I am going on board the Greek fleet this night. You would do well not to send out any individuals or articles, but to send your money to me, or to some one in whom you repose your confidence. There is an excellent Swiss established here, named Dr. Meyer. He has the good qualities of his countrymen, and is intimately acquainted with the Greek character. I have recommended the Greeks to have the Swiss institutions always before their eyes, and their chiefs to have Washington before theirs.

I shall shortly go to Napoli and Argos; then be present at the congress; then go to Candia, and return to Missolonghi. Mr. Bentham's works are well known

to our Prefect here, and to many others; they asked me about his Comments on the Greek Constitution. Pray send them to me, and, if possible, in Greek.

L. S.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 16th December, 1823.

My dear B.

I SEND you herewith a copy of the minutes of the first sitting of the General Committee in Greece. [Vide Appendix, No. 11.]

The government has given up the Seraglio, an excellent building, for the laboratory. I have solicited two Greeks of respectability to act as Parry's assistants; and shall in all cases, and in all our establishments, endeavour to *associate ourselves with the natives*. By this means they will take a deep interest in troops, schools, hospitals, posts, &c. With respect to the artillery, I shall maintain it for three months, during which time, Patras, Lepanto, and the Castles, might be captured through its instrumentality. After this period, if Lord Byron does not subscribe to its further maintenance, the German Committee have still the means of supporting it for six additional months. It is also my intention to add fifty Greeks to the corps. Parry's subordination will not be exacted, as he will be the inspector. The press will be at work immediately. The journal will

be called the Greek Chronicle; and the motto decided on is, "The greatest good of the greatest number." Lord Erskine's and Lord Byron's letters will appear in it immediately.

The hospital and dispensary will be immediately established. I have an idea that funds might be partly obtained by the sale of medicines to the rich, and afterwards by a grant of public lands. The post, Mavrocordato says, may be established, and will prove highly useful; and if no other person can be found to organize it, I shall undertake the task. I must settle this matter when at Argos. The Primates of this quarter of Greece will assemble next week, to take into consideration an expedition against Patras, Lepanto, &c. the garrisons of which are said to be in low spirits. The Greek fleet blockades the Turkish fleet in the gulf of Lepanto, although the latter is double the force of the former. The Greek admiral, on being asked by me whether he meant to attempt the attack, said, "Yes; we did not come here for nothing." I think they will make an attempt with their fire-ships. I went on board the Spetziot admiral's ship with Mavrocordato, and afterwards, to prevent jealousy, visited the Hydriot admiral also. All their captains came on board, and, on my return, nearly all of them saluted, some with powder, some, according to their custom, with ball. Mavrocordato is a favourite with the islands, the people of Western Greece, and the legislative body. He is now president of that body, and is sent round here to settle affairs in this quarter. I find him good natured, clever, accommodating, and disposed to do good. He has

rather an ingenious than a profound mind. He seems, at all times, disposed to concede, and to advance every good measure; and I consider it a grand advantage for Greece that he is now in power at Missolonghi. The society here, consisting chiefly of soldiers, have received me with warm, and, I believe, with sincere professions of regard. I consider myself one of them, and hope, by that means, to be considered so by them.

Schools there are, I believe, none in Greece. In concert with some good natives I hope they may be established. What we most stand in need of is a good master to teach the system. How comes it that the Quakers are backward in this useful work? I have written to Lord Guildford and others on the subject. The dissensions are moderating. Lord Byron's letter, and even my presence at the seat of government may, perhaps, do good.

Lord Byron's presence here is anxiously solicited by the government and people. A Greek vessel has been sent to Cefalonia for him, and I doubt not but he will come. So we expect Byron, Parry, and the press all to enter the field together. From the blaze of such a constellation I shall turn my face, and seek honours at Napoli, Argos, &c. Half my day is taken up with paying and receiving visits, and the rest in local business, so that I have not much time to devote to the Committee.

Yours, &c. &c.

L. S.

Do not send any more persons or things; send us a little money, and if we squander it or rob you, then

condemn us and be more prudent in future. The military power, in the neighbourhood of Missolonghi, is attached to the government, especially the brave Suliots. The people seem to have no prejudice against us. Metaxa, a person cruelly persecuted by Maitland, is the Prefect here. He is not much attended to. In fact, the system in Greece is quite military and feudal, and the laws are neither much known nor observed.

The executive are accused of having attempted to sell and to appropriate to their own use the public lands, which has rendered them odious. The first defence of Missolonghi, with only 300 men, was wonderful, and its successful result most important. This fortress has now some works, and its second defence, therefore, is less extraordinary. The Turks attacked it with 24,000 men. They lost by wounds and sickness 3000. The defence of Anatolico, which is in the neighbourhood, was also admirable. Previous to the siege of this place, it had always been supplied with water from a distance. During the siege, however, a shell fell in the centre of the place, and out gushed a spring of water, from which the inhabitants have ever since been supplied. Whether this is a miracle or a falsehood, priests and historians must decide.

After the assembly of the Primates has been held, I anticipate the following result, viz. an expedition against Lepanto, the Castles, and Patras. Byron will, I hope, take 2000 Suliots into pay; Parry and the artillery will, by that time, be ready, and success will thus be secured. You must be aware that such a triumph would place this part of Greece in security,

and enable the friends of freedom to pursue all their liberal plans.

L. S.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

(Translated from the Italian original.)

Missolonghi, 16th December, 1823.

Excellent Sirs,

ENCLOSED are letters addressed to you by Lord Erskine and Lord Byron. The arrival of the Greek fleet off Missolonghi, and the interesting anticipations associated with that event, lead me from my direct course to the seat of the Greek government; and I am now waiting to see Lord Byron, who is daily expected in this quarter. These circumstances have deprived me of the honour of appearing before you and explaining to you the objects of my mission. For the present, I shall not intrude upon your time by giving you an imperfect sketch of the feelings which your noble cause excites in Great Britain, or the measures which those who represent that feeling are anxious to pursue towards the deliverance of Greece, the promotion of her knowledge, and the firm establishment of her liberties. Suffice it to say, that we have no selfish and no foreign feeling lurking about us, but are, from sentiment, as from policy, Greeks to the very heart. Actuated by these considerations, I have heard, with deep

concern, that dissensions prevail amongst the Greeks. Where this fault lies is beyond my knowledge ; and even were I informed, it would ill become a foreigner to interfere in such concerns. All I can venture to pronounce is, that whoever or whatever may be the cause of the disease, it is one that threatens the independence and the freedom of Greece. God grant, therefore, that it may be removed.

I am, &c. &c.

L. S.

LETTER XV.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Missolonghi, 18th Dec. 1823.

My dear B.

CONSIDERING my presence here for a time useful, I have deferred my journey to Napoli, and have addressed a letter to the general government of Greece.

The object of this was to remove the jealousy on the part of the executive body which my presence here was calculated to excite, and to destroy all idea of my belonging to a faction. Parry has directions to proceed hither ; I shall to-morrow remove my abode to the Seraglio, in order to arrange every thing for his reception. The yard belonging to the Palace is walled in, and in its front is a large space, where it is proposed to exercise the artillery. The artillery officers and men

have been carefully selected. A German has been despatched to convey instructions to them to proceed hither. In a fortnight all will be here, and, if expedient, at drill. I have advanced the funds for three months' pay; the German Committee have funds for six months more; and the rest we have solicited from Lord Byron, When this corps shall be formed, by attaching to it 100 Greek soldiers or sailors, they will be able to man a sufficient number of mortars and guns to take any fortress in Greece.

The press will be at work next Monday. Its first production will be a prospectus. On the first day of the year 1824 the Greek Chronicle will be issued: Dr. Meyer is the editor, and I have hired an intelligent man to assist him, and have furnished him with much matter. It will be printed in Greek and Italian; it will come out twice a week, and the price will be six dollars per annum. Pray endeavour to assist its circulation in England, and send out all newspapers and other matter. I hope to establish presses in other parts, but must wait until after the meeting of the Primates, who are to settle concerning the expedition, and till the inspector Parry is settled and hard at work. Money expended in England will not do one-tenth as much good as money expended here.

For example,—for £200 I can set the press at work; for £100 I can establish a post across the Morea; for £500 I could put a force in movement that would take Patras, Lepanto, and the Castles, which would free Greece. Send, therefore, no more men or things;—*send me money.* Solicit the Quakers to send out a good schoolmaster, books, medicines, surgical instruments,

and money,—to Greece, not to the continent. Let all articles be sent to Missolonghi, and addressed to me; they will then be placed under lock and key in the storehouse. The expedition to Lepanto, &c. &c. will, I think, be commanded by Mavrocordato, and will consist of 2,000 Suliots, together with Parry and the artillery corps. I have no fear of the result if properly conducted. Missolonghi is quiet, and Mavrocordato, the Primates, and the people, are all well disposed to further good measures. I am trying to connect myself with the best and most influential natives. It would be a vain attempt to do any extensive good without their assistance: with it and a little money much may be effected in this neighbourhood. In the Morea I am informed that little or nothing can be done; but of this I am by no means convinced. "*Nous verrons.*" The administration of the police is in the hands of the Primates and the Capitani, or rather justice exists not at all. Feudalism prevails in all its wildness. The Primates here are going to solicit Lord Byron to assist them with his advice in their councils. Intelligence has just arrived that the Turks of Patras begin to talk of capitulating. Negotiations are strangely conducted here: the conferences are carried on in an ineffectual manner for days and weeks by a Turkish and a Greek soldier, who smoke together and talk the business over. When they come to an understanding, their chiefs meet, and agree to, and seal the treaty.

It is my practice, when the natives visit me, to draw their attention to those points which are most essential to their welfare, and to put the matter in a point of view that will interest them, and set their minds in labour.

For example, if I wish to recommend military discipline to them, I speak of the combined operations and close order observed by their ancestors in their arrays: speaking of education, I lament that their Turkish masters should have deprived their children of the means of acquiring that knowledge which their great forefathers so eminently possessed. As a proof that this works on their minds, several parents went this morning to Dr. Meyer, and solicited him to speak to me about establishing a school. Their chief want is a master to teach the system. Elementary works, too, are much wanted; such, for instance, as the School Encyclopædia, &c. and the Bible, in modern Greek.

The followers of the Greek religion, like the Catholics and the Hindoos, do not read their Scriptures: the consequence is, ignorance of their creed and superstition, upon which is always engrafted despotism. The only edition of the Scriptures in modern Greek was, I believe, published at Venice a few years back. I beg of you always to bear in mind that no one speaks English in this country; that it is a serious task translating first into one language and then into another; and, consequently, that all writings and matter sent out here should be either in Italian, in French, in German, or in Greek.

Yours, &c. &c.

L. S.

LETTER XVI.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 20th December, 1823.

My dear B.

I SEND you an account of the proceedings of the third meeting of the General Committee. [Vide Appendix, Nos. 13 and 14.] It is necessary to explain this matter to you. The Greek fleet, consisting of nine Hydriot and five Spetziot vessels, are at the same time blockading the Gulf of Lepanto and protecting the Bay of Missolonghi from the Turkish fleet now off Patras: they are also destined to co-operate with the army against the fortresses on the borders of the Gulf of Lepanto. Now we look to this conjoint operation as one that will, if successful, place Western Greece in a state of security; and, from the character of Mavrocordato, the military chiefs, primates, and people, in the way to obtain good government. But the plan in contemplation was likely to miscarry, owing to the government having no means to pay the fleet, and the sailors having, consequently, refused to continue their services. Under these circumstances, Mavrocordato borrowed here and there, until at last he could procure no more money; and 500 dollars were still wanting, without which the fleet would not remain. Under these circumstances he sent Mr. Meyer to me to obtain the money. I told him that I should devote two-thirds of my income to the Greek cause, but that I should only make that sacrifice to the furtherance of important objects which would have a lasting influence

on the nation ; for example, in promoting education, a free press, and posts, to give currency to men's ideas, &c. I said that the expedition could not depart for a month, nor accomplish its purpose under two months, and therefore I could only consent to risk my money on the guarantee that the fleet should remain here during that period. Mavrocordato signed a document, giving his word of honour that seven of the ships should remain here for two months, which being equal to the object, the contract was concluded that night.

Your agent has now been at Missolonghi one week. During that period a free press has been established, a corps of artillery has been decided on, the funds furnished for its maintenance during nine months, and a person despatched to assemble it ; means have been furnished to prevent the Greek fleet from dispersing, and a proper house and grounds have been procured for the establishment of a laboratory. This is a very encouraging commencement of our labours.

The loan should, I think, be placed under the control of a commission, and the money sent to Zante. I think Mr. Barff, and myself, and another close-fisted person, should be named as commissioners : the funds should then be placed in no hands but those of the government ;—by government I mean a regular established administration, and not *two factions*. Were this the case, the people, who are daily gaining strength, would soon oblige their masters to attend to their interests, or else select other rulers. The press will issue its prospectus this day : in it I have caused an article from Bentham's pamphlet to be translated ; it treats of the influence of freedom in America, and is all comprehensive and conclusive. I have also

written a letter in the prospectus, soliciting subscriptions ; this I shall sign and send to each member of the executive and legislative bodies, and also to the principal Capitani and Primates. I was yesterday visited by Capitano Hormari, a brave and modest soldier : I asked him how many head of cattle he had ; he replied 500,000. Dr. Meyer confirms his statement.

Parry has not yet arrived. He was first ordered to Cefalonia, then to Spetzia, and I, six days back, directed a letter to him at Corfu, changing his destination, and desiring him to proceed to Missolonghi. Lest he should be already off for Spetzia, I have addressed a letter to him there, requesting his return. My orders to him have been founded upon the best intelligence which I was able to obtain, and they changed with the change of circumstances. I have obtained permission to associate the Captain of the Port and the Commissary with Parry as his agents. They are good men, and will be useful to him. Money is what I want here : a little from the Committee, a little from the Quakers ; schools, presses, posts, hospitals, all will then flourish ; elementary books on education, war, agriculture, &c. newspapers, useful pamphlets, Greek Bibles, the Monthly Repository, medical stores, blankets, bandages, matter for the press, and *two school-masters*, to teach the Lancasterian system, are all much required. I think with such means, placed in judicious hands, this nation might be regenerated. Address your letters to me at Zante, and all things to me must be sent to Missolonghi. If you send persons out, which I hope *you will not*, take care to place them in subordination under your agents.

I have heard of two extraordinary boys here. One is ten years of age, and possesses a great talent for making extempore poetry; the other is a little Jew, of seven years old, whom the Turks converted, *par force*, on account of his calculating powers. I have sent to Jannina for them, and, should they answer the description, I shall send them home to Mr. Bentham, to be educated at Hill's school, (Hazelwood.) [Vide Appendix 15.]

A sort of surly misunderstanding still exists between the executive and legislative bodies. The latter is accused of having fulfilled none of its engagements; namely, to equip a fleet of sixty ships, to employ 12,000 men in an expedition, and to establish schools, presses, posts, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 23d December, 1823.

My dear Bowring,

A TURKISH brig was pursued by a number of Greek ships on the 10th, and, after a gallant running fight, driven on a rock near Ithaca. The Greeks rifled the sinking ship and pursued forty-eight Turks who sought a refuge on the shore. Some were killed; some escaped. The brig had 250,000 piastres on board, for the payment of the soldiers at Patras. Letters addressed to Usuff Pacha, the commandant,

and others, stated that the troops had had no pay for eighteen months, and that the Porte, during that period, had not given them wherewithal to pay the barbers for shaving them. Usuff Pacha's bills, for the payment of provisions, had been rejected at Constantinople. The commandant of Coron applied to the Porte for cannoneers and ammunition. The reply was, that they had not cannoneers even to supply the fleet; but that they would send a supply of ammunition.

On the 10th December, a Greek vessel, with twenty men, attacked a Turkish vessel with seventy men on board. The latter was proceeding from Patras to Prevesa, with persons who had fled on account of the disorders which prevail at Patras. The fight was so obstinate that the Turkish vessel went down; seven men were taken up and saved, and some reached the shore, but most of them were killed.

Count Metaxa, a member of the executive, has been prosecuted, judged, and dismissed from his office, by the legislative body, on account of having retired from Napoli, and left the executive without a sufficient number to act and pass laws; Colocotroni and Petrobey having been absent, and three members being required to constitute a quorum. Caliopulo having a dissension with Dellianopulo about the territory of Carritea they fought; twelve soldiers fell, and then followed a convention. Caliopulo then proceeded to the blockade of Patras, under the command of Colocotroni. Probably they came to prevent Andreas Zaimis and Andreas Londos from fulfilling their intentions to blockade Patras. The legislative body is said to be at Cranidi: if so, they have resorted to that place to deliberate in security, and to

be near Spetzia. In this they have acted wisely. A public meeting has been held in the church of St. Spiridion, at Missolonghi ; the object of which was to choose four magistrates. The Prince Mavrocordato read to them his credentials, by which it appeared, that the executive and legislative bodies had appointed him president of the legislative body, and civil and military governor of Western Greece, by which is meant Livadia. The aristocracy endeavoured to have the four members elected from their body, pretending that they were wiser, and knew the customs and business better than the plebeians. The people, on the other hand, contended that they could select from among themselves persons equal to the duties, and who would not betray their liberties. The result was, that two of the primates and two of the people were elected.

The press is not yet in motion ; I will explain to you the cause. When I arrived here I found that Mavrocordato had brought a press with him, and that Dr. Meyer had undertaken to conduct it. I immediately endeavoured to rouse the several persons concerned to commence the work ; but a thousand obstacles were thrown in the way. At last a house was procured and put in order : a prospectus, partly written by Dr. Meyer and partly by myself, was prepared, a list of the members of the three Parliaments, the Primates, Capitani, &c. was made out, and a circular letter ready to forward to them. In short, when I thought that the matter was actually printed, the *redacteur* declared that the language of the prospectus was not good ; that he had received one from the prince, that was all excellent ; in short, that he *would not print* the prospectus. Mark

well, that he is the only printer here. It is necessary to mention to you that, during this most important struggle, the treaty or contract, which I had guaranteed relative to the small loan of £100 for the fleet, had been violated. Instead of seven ships being retained here, only five, and two fire-vessels, remained. The Prince's secretary came to explain the matter to me; but sophistry would not do from one who was sily acting as censor over the press, and attempting to suppress the thoughts of the finest genius of the most enlightened age—the thoughts of the immortal Bentham. I told the secretary that contracts were sacred things, and if they were broken in one instance, what security was there for Lord Byron's loan or the expected English loan? The next morning I met the *rédacteur* at Dr. M.'s, and rated him roughly. I declared that I would set up a press in the Morea, and expose the whole intrigue. I then asked whether it was intended to establish an inquisition in Greece? "What," said I, "will Prince Mavrocordato say to you; he who is the idol of the people, the governor they have forced the executive to adopt, and the president of the representatives of a free people, should he hear that you have acted so basely?" He shuffled, and agreed to publish what Dr. M. had written, but said that the translation from Bentham was not in good Greek, and could not appear. I gave him another sound rating, and he yielded. Since that time, the Prince has called upon me. I told him how infamously the printer had behaved, and repeated all that I had said to him. I told him, further, that no man's reputation could be safe without a free press; and, as an instance of it, I mentioned that he was accused of wishing to sell the Morea to England.

and of aspiring to the throne of Greece. The high and sturdy tone assumed in these two conversations produced the desired result:—the prospectus is printed; and I feel proud that in Greece, as in Hindoostan, I have contributed to the first establishment of a free press. There was a press, indeed, at Calamata, but it was under the control of Ipsilanti, and the one at Corinth was merely used for registering decrees and proclamations. I propose to establish another press, at the seat of the legislative body; and the lithographic ones may be placed at Calamata, Candia, and Athens.

I have addressed the general government of Greece on the subject of the posts, and have offered to undertake the conveyance of the mails from Corinth to Napoli, Tripolitza, and Gastouni. This will enable us to circulate letters and newspapers all over Greece, the Islands, and to Europe.

I have also offered to the Prince to establish an hospital, and he has agreed to the terms. The government is to find a house, three servants, beds, &c. The medicines are to be furnished by me, and the upper and middle classes are to pay for them in such proportions as to remunerate me. Pray send out surgical instruments, medicines, blankets, &c.

I have written to an American missionary at Malta, and to an English one at Corfu, to assist Greece with school-masters, books, Bibles, presses, medicines, &c.

Send your letters to Zante, Cefalonia, or Corfu, to be forwarded thence to Missolonghi.

• By my advice, Mavrocordato has sent Kindermann to reconnoitre Lepanto. The Prince means to blockade, besiege, or assault it.

I wish that you, Gordon, Blaquiére, and Brown, would come out to Greece. I long to see l'inspecteur d'artillerie, Mr. Parry.

The artillery corps will be formed immediately, and it may easily be augmented. I shall endeavour to get Gubernati's corps re-embodied. More than this cannot now be effected. When the government has money they may then select some good officers, and take 4,000 irregulars into their pay. This will give them a preponderance.

The troops of the Pacha of Scutari, that retired from Missolonghi, have been refused provisions by the Albanians, and have lost many men in fighting to obtain them. Silidar Poda has revolted against Omer Pacha, declaring that he will acknowledge none but Ismael Bey, the grandson of Ali Pacha, as governor of Albania. Aga Mouhourdar, another influential chief, has also declared for Ismael Bey. Omer Pacha has quitted Prevesa to attack these two chiefs, and that place and Arta are left defenceless. In a word, the Albanians are engaged in a civil war favourable to Greece; and the Pacha of Scutari will not be tempted to make another journey to Missolonghi.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 28th December, 1823.

My dear Bowring,

THE following is a copy of my letter to the general government of Greece, relative to the establishment of a post across the Morea.

“ Excellent Sirs,

“ A COMMITTEE in England having sent me
“ here to promote the interests of Greece, I beg leave
“ to recommend to the General Government the establishment of a post for the conveyance of letters and
“ parcels across the Morea. In all countries, the quick
“ circulation of ideas must be conducive to the public
“ good, but more especially so in a free and commercial state. Impressed with this conviction, if none
“ other will undertake the task, I offer to convey the
“ mails, at my own risk and expense. The centre of
“ the post will be at Tripolitza, having correspondents
“ at Gastouni, Napoli, and Corinth. From Gastouni
“ the correspondence with Western Greece, the Ionian
“ Isles, and Europe will be conducted; from Napoli,
“ it will extend to the Isles of the Archipelago; and
“ from Corinth, to Eastern Greece. The plan is as
“ follows:—The superintendent, or first clerk, of the
“ post, is to be placed at Tripolitza; one clerk is to be
“ stationed at Napoli, one at Corinth, and one at Gastouni. The duties of the superintendent are the
“ general direction of the department, the making up

“ of the accounts, the paying of the servants, and
“ receiving of the revenue every month from the junior
“ clerks. All the clerks are to attend at their respective
“ offices for the reception and distribution of letters
“ and parcels, and to receive payment for them on
“ their delivery. They are to keep the accounts, of
“ which, at the end of every month, they are to convey
“ a statement, together with the money received, to
“ the superintendent, at Tripolitza. The letters and
“ parcels are to be conveyed by runners. The runners
“ are to go at the rate of five miles in each hour, and
“ they are daily to perform about twenty miles. The
“ post is not to proceed on Sundays.

“ One post-day the runners are to proceed in the
“ direction of Corinth, and the following post-day in
“ the direction of Gastouni.

“ Letters and parcels are to pay in proportion to
“ their weight, and the distance they are conveyed.

“ A single letter of two drams is to pay five paras
“ for four hours, and parcels at the same rate.

“ The payment is to be made on the delivery of let-
“ ters and parcels.

“ The office does not guarantee any objects of value
“ that may be despatched by the post.

“ The superintendent is to receive five dollars per
“ month, the clerks four dollars each, and the runners
“ three dollars each.

“ L. S.”

31st December.

Missolonghi is placed in a state of difficulty. The
neighbourhood has been ruined by two Turkish cam-

paigns. Provisions are, consequently, very dear. The town is filled with the Primates, Capitani, and their followers, who have come here to attend the Congress assembled to consider the affairs of Western Greece. All are looking forward to Lord Byron's arrival as they would to the coming of a Messiah. Three ships have been successively despatched after him, and he promises that he is on the eve of departing; but two of these ships have, one after the other, been obliged to quit the harbour of Cefalonia without him. The third ship has not yet returned. Meanwhile the Greek soldiers and fleet murmur for pay. Mavrocordato tells them that he will pay them on receiving Lord Byron's loan. The loan comes not to hand, and I am called upon to give security for £100 borrowed from the German Committee. This I do under promise that seven ships are to remain here for two months. Three or four days after, the contract is broken, and only five remain. On the 29th December, the sailors of these remaining ships complain that they have no pay. They demand it, or threaten to quit the vessels. They have put their threat in execution; whether to return or not we are ignorant. During this eventful period, Usuff Pacha, the Commandant of Patras, is named Captain Pacha. He is a gallant fellow; and finding that the Greeks have only five ships here, persuades the Turkish fleet to venture out of the Gulf of Lepanto, and they are now blockading the port. Beyond these, again, are seen the Greek ships, and, among the rest, the one that was sent for Lord Byron. Whether he is on board or not is a question. You will allow that this is an eventful day, when I tell you that the Turkish fleet is come out;

that Lord Byron is expected; that the Congress is to meet; and that the prospectus has, at last, made its appearance. We conceive that the Turkish fleet will either return into the Gulf in a few days, or be off altogether. The latter supposition is founded on our knowledge that the fortresses and the fleet are in want of provisions.

Events change every moment. The Turkish fleet is retiring into port.

Since I last addressed you, I have had another hot fight in defence of the press. Dr. Meyer called on me to say that Bentham's remarks could not appear in the prospectus. I told him that they must, or I would retire from my connexion with him and his press. They have appeared. You will judge of the importance of the impression which this passage must make on men about to legislate on the measure, and on a people about to stare and wonder at something new.

The legislative body is settled at Cranidi, opposite to Spetzia. There they may deliberate safely. Ulysses has taken Karisto, in Negropont. No place of strength now remains there in the hands of the Turks but the capital.

Lord Byron's two servants have just arrived here, and have brought me a letter from his Lordship. [Vide Appendix, No. 16.] He and Count Gamba set off in two vessels from Cefalonia. They went to Zante, and thence proceeded for Missolonghi, with their bills of lading made out for Calamata. Just as they were coming into port, out came the Turkish fleet, Gamba was taken by a frigate, and conveyed to Patras. The Zante government will demand his restoration, and that of our press,

&c. Lord Byron had a narrow escape. He got into Scrofus, a little island, a few hours' sail from this. Thither I have sent two armed boats, and a company of Suliots, so that he may come by sea or land, as he pleases. He will be here to-morrow. If he had not come, we had need have prayed for fair weather: for both fleet and army are hungry and inactive.

Parry has not appeared. Should he also arrive to-morrow, all Missolonghi will go mad with pleasure.

Pray send us out matter for our press, in Italian, French, or German. What we want are short plain essays, on liberty, on law, on justice, on publicity, on elections, on education, &c. The labour of translating such things, and then watching their re-translation into Greek, is not in my power. I hope our press will not be detained at Patras. For want of Roman letters we cannot print the Chronicle in Italian.

The public meeting is put off till to-morrow. I have recommended Mavrocordato to endeavour to introduce discipline and system there, otherwise noise and riot will prevail, and no business will be done. I have, also, advised him to propose a number of the most enlightened and virtuous men to form committees, and to prepare reports for the approval of the General Assembly.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XIX.

TO THE SAME.

2d January, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

HERE you have our Greek Chronicle. The passage from Bentham is from his pamphlet on the liberty of the press, pp. 9, 10. The prospectus I have distributed to the members of the two last parliaments, and to all the Primates, Capitani, and Sages of Greece, the Islands of the Archipelago, the Ionian Isles, &c. I have written to Dr. Paylas, to invite him to conduct a paper at the seat of the government which is now at Cranidi. I have, also, written many articles for the press. If you could send out a couple of men who could speak French, German, or Italian, and who could write strong articles in plain language, they would do incalculable good here.

Byron is expected here every moment. Count Gamba is in no danger; but I fear the Committee's articles will not be restored. The press is the most valuable of them.

Every thing is going on well here. My room is full of natives from morning to night, and the object of every word I utter is to impress upon their minds the advantages of liberty, education, the pure administration of justice, &c. Prince Mavrocordato is a good man. Do not imagine, however, that he is a friend of liberty in a large sense. He is not; but these are no times for an avowal of sentiments hostile to freedom.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XX.

TO M. PSYLAS.

Jan. 2d, 1824.

Monsieur,

UN comité en Angleterre a envoyé ici quelques presses, à dessein de donner publicité aux pensées des hommes, à fin d'éclairer l'esprit public en Grèce.

Le Comité m'a confié la tâche de mettre en mouvement cette machine puissante. Par conséquent j'ai demandé aux personnes instruites, qui étoient les hommes les plus habiles, prudents et honnêtes pour diriger les Gazettes.

* Au commencement du catalogue de ceux-ci je vois votre nom. C'est pour cette raison que je prends la liberté de vous demander si vous êtes disposé à entreprendre cet office à la résidence du gouvernement, et sous quels termes.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,

Votre très humble serviteur,

L. S.*

* TRANSLATION.

To M. Psylas.

Jan. 2d, 1824.

Sir,

A committee, in England, has sent to this country several presses, for the purpose of giving publicity to the ideas of men, in order to enlighten the public mind of Greece.

The Committee has confided to me the task of putting this powerful machine in action, and I have, therefore, inquired of well-informed persons who were the most able, prudent, and honest men, to be entrusted with the direction of the Gazettes.

LETTER XXI.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Missolonghi, 3d Jan. 1824.

My dear Bowring,

A PUBLIC meeting of the Primates and Capitani of Western Greece took place here yesterday, in the yard of the Seraglio; Prince Mavrocordato opened the meeting. He said, he had heard with delight, on his arrival here, that the patriot warriors of Western Greece had driven the enemy, with great loss, from their soil, and had thereby saved Missolonghi and the Peloponnesus from pest, death, and ruin. With no less delight did he see these same persons assembled to deliberate on the state of Greece. He could not but anticipate that their undertakings, in civil as in military affairs, would be attended with advantage. With respect to union of sentiment, it was not to be met with in private or in public assemblies; but when the end was good, the collision of sentiment tended to enlighten men, and to promote the common interest. Passion and civil discord were alone the sources of mischief. For a proof of this it was not necessary to cite history, the facts

At the beginning of the list of these I perceive your name. It is on this account that I take the liberty of inquiring if you are disposed to undertake that office at the seat of government, and on what terms?

I have the honour to be,

Your most humble servant,

L. S.

F

were before their eyes; and from their past sufferings they should learn to be wiser for the future. Greece had, indeed, nothing to fear from the enemy. She had confounded the Turk even when *disunited*. But, *united*, she had pushed her advantages still further, had saved her soil from desolation, and her resources from ruin. The prince thought not with those who traced discord and disunion to poverty. On the contrary, he considered that Greece did possess resources equal to the drain occasioned by the war, if well husbanded. But if she did not possess sufficient wealth, was it by disunion that wealth was to be obtained? Surely not. For who would lend when he knows not to whom he lends, and whom to look to for his capital? He then observed, that the illustrious person whom the people had brought to Missolonghi, by their repeated calls, could be of no use to them unless they acted with union and friendship. All good depended upon themselves. With it they required no individual aid, without it no aid could be effectual. There was, he said, a report abroad, that he must repel as calumny. It had been rumoured, that Western Greece wished to separate her interests from those of the Morea. It was not so; but if the latter possessed resources beyond her wants, it was but just that she should contribute to a war carried on for the defence of her outworks. If, as had been asserted, the revenue of the Morea had been squandered and pillaged, the people had a right to demand redress from the government, or, rather, they should give the government the force necessary to effect the object. Prince Mavrocordato then recommended the meeting to appoint a secretary, and two or three members from each can-

ten to form committees, to make reports for the acceptance, correction, or rejection of the general assembly. With respect to his own sentiments, they should be publicly canvassed. He then again recommended friendship and union, which could alone save the commonwealth, and concluded by moving the following questions:—1st. What are the means to check mal-administration in the cantons, to prevent the field from being wasted, and to secure to the husbandman the fruits of his labour? 2d. What force should be maintained, and how should the money and rations be furnished? 3d. How should our military measures be conducted so as to promote the general good? 4th. How regulate the dues of the *Capitani*, so as to prevent misunderstandings amongst them? 5th. What means should be employed to effect a general union, and to give force to the government? After this motion a short debate took place. The necessary measures were agreed to, and the meeting was adjourned. All present were quiet and conducted themselves admirably.

We require the support of *mind* and *matter* for the press. The people of Greece know nothing of liberty. How should they, after centuries of Turkish domination? They require to be taught the elements—the A B C of good government. Their instructors should, however, be able and doing men: I wish you could get two or three such to come here. The people are ready to catch at any thing to promote their welfare, if it were thrown in their way.

Mavrocordato lately informed me, that the poll-tax of one piastre had been levied last year. From it the government had ascertained that the whole population

now under their control, including the islands, amounted to about two millions of souls.

The executive, after much fencing, have at last had a fray with the legislative body. The story is as follows: The legislative body expelled Count Metaxa from the executive, for absenting himself from his duties without permission, and leaving only two members, who could not form a quorum, to pass laws, &c. They then named a successor. The minister of finance was, in like manner, displaced, for having, without any authority, established a salt-monopoly: four representatives were also dismissed for not attending their duties when called on, at Napoli, to do so. The executive, irritated at these acts of justice, sent Niketas and young Colocotroni, with two hundred men, to Argos, to *explain* matters. On their arrival they proceeded to the house of assembly. The members had just terminated their sitting. Two of them, in going out, met this armed body, and conducted them into the senate, which was soon filled with soldiers. They were questioned as to their conduct in removing Metaxa and the finance-minister from their offices. They, in reply, contended against the neglect of sacred duties, monopolies, and arbitrary power. Niketas then said, he would make the law with his sword, and have a military government. It was at length agreed, that the assembly should meet to consider the message in the afternoon. Meanwhile the soldiers seized the archives of the legislative body. The moment the members heard of this outrage, they ordered the *Capitani*, at the head of the police, to recover the archives. This order was obeyed with admirable courage and address.

The executive body is hateful to the people: they wished not to see a monopoly of power; but a monopoly of salt came still more home to their feelings. They rose in favour of their representatives. The tyrants retired. The legislative body then removed to Cranidi. There they issued a proclamation, protesting against this lawless act, and threatening to prosecute the violators of the constitution. The people of Hydra, the great naval state, have addressed both bodies in a becoming strain on this subject, and the assembly here will follow the example. Two days before the receipt of this intelligence, Colocotroni addressed several of the *Capitani* at Missolonghi, and called upon them to meet him at Gastouni, to form an efficient military government. The letter was read aloud at the general assembly. The people murmured, and not a voice was raised in favour of the proposition.

Cranidi is a tolerable town, with about 1,000 houses in it, and as many troops. Hydra is near to it, so that the representatives of the people may there deliberate in safety. I think this event will have a good effect. The people have been touched in a sensitive part; they have tried their power—have succeeded, and have been applauded. Lord Erskine's, Lord Byron's, and my letters will have reached the general government just after this affair, and they will shortly appear in the Greek Chronicle, which will be circulated by the newly-established post.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 5th Jan. 1824.

My dear B.

COUNT GAMBA has just arrived here with all the articles belonging to the committee. He was taken early in the morning by a Turkish ship. The captain thereof ordered the master on board. The moment he came upon deck the Turk drew his dazzling sabre, and placed himself in an attitude as if to cut his head off. He, at the same moment, asked him where he was bound to. The frightened Greek said, to Missolonghi. They gazed at each other, and the Turk then recognized in his prisoner one who, on a former occasion, had saved his life. They embraced. Next came the Count's turn. He declared—swore that he was bound to Calamata; that the master had told a lie from fear; and that his bill of lading would prove his assertion true. They were taken to the Castle of the Morea, well treated, and, after three days, released. On quitting the Gulf, our fleet saluted them with their cannon.

The moment I reached Missolonghi, and found the place in safety, I despatched a vessel to Corfu, with orders to Parry to proceed hither. The ship unfortunately foundered, but the letter was sent forward on the 26th of December, and must have arrived about the end of the month. I have as yet heard nothing of him. Whether he is gone round to Spetzia, or is coming hither, I know not. I have, however, despatched letters to him in all directions.

After Zakaropulo had recovered the archives, by direction of the legislative body, as I stated in my last, the troops sought Londres. Fortunately for him, he was out, but they pillaged his house. The members of the legislative body then assembled at the vice-president's house, and resolved to defend themselves there. The troops retired; and, on the following day, the famous Colocotroni made his appearance. He cursed the senators, and called them all Turks. Two days after this, on the 12th of December, the executive met some of the members of the legislative body near Napoli. The former declared themselves innocent of the affair at Argos.

Yours,

L. S.

P.S. Lord Byron has this moment arrived. He was received with military honours and popular applause. His Lordship had a narrow escape, having passed close to a Turkish frigate. He thinks they must have taken his vessel for a *brûlot*. The sailors say his Lordship conducted himself with admirable coolness.

L. S.

LETTER XXIII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 6th January, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

YOU once spoke to me about forming a utilitarian society, for the purpose of spreading knowledge and every thing that contributes to good government.

Reflection and experience have convinced me that such a society is much wanted. It would by degrees acquire a knowledge of what infant and struggling nations require, and how their wants can be supplied ; and what persons and what things would contribute to their advancement. I should conceive, out of our and the foreign Spanish and Greek Committees, that you might select many persons that would enlist themselves in such an undertaking.

Sir T. Maitland has issued a proclamation, complaining of the conduct of some Greek ships. This document is couched in unbecoming language, and in a spirit of partiality and injustice. I will relate to you the circumstances of the two cases.

The Greek fleet, in going from Hydra to Missolonghi, fell in with a Turkish brig near Scrofus. They chased her. She behaved gallantly, and at length ran on a rock near Ithaca. The Greeks sent a boat to seize and rifle their prize. The Turks made for the shore, and from the shore fired and killed Nicholas Bulugo and wounded Pano Triandophilo, both Spetziots. The Greeks upon this followed the Turks on shore, and killed and wounded some of them. The Greek commandants did all in their power to prevent their sailors from going on shore, and exerted themselves to hasten their return. The crime, therefore, of Turks and Greeks was nearly the same ;—both violated the laws of neutrality and of quarantine. But Sir T. M. launches all his thunders against the Greeks, and talks of their having been commanded by “ *un certo nominato Principe Mavrocordato*,” but who did not command the fleet.

The other case was that of a trader from Missolonghi, who took it into his head to attack a Turkish boat near Sta. Maura. Some of his men he put on shore, and so got his antagonists between two fires, and took four of them. On the return of the San Nicholas to Missolonghi, the government heard of the lawless conduct of this captain, and immediately prosecuted him as a pirate. Here again the law of nations and the quarantine laws were broken by a pirate. And for these acts Sir T. Maitland fulminates against the Greek nation. When will this man cease to persecute a people gloriously struggling for their lives and liberties?

Lord Byron was received here in triumph. His Lordship is, I fancy, going to take 500 Suliots into his service. This will give the government here the power to act, support her civil institutions, and add to her strength in the field. His Lordship has given £100 towards the support of the artillery corps, and £50 in aid of the press. His Lordship, however, thinks the press will not succeed. I think it will.

The following is a copy of my letter to the general government of Greece on the subject of the press.

All' Eccellentissimo Governo Generale della Grecia,
in Cranidi.

Missolonghi, 7 Gennaro, 1824.

Il Comitato d'Inghilterra ha mandato qui diverse stamperie per spargere il lume del secolo decimo nono, e farlo operare sul destino della nazione Greca. La lunga esperienza in Inghilterra, in Svizzera, e nei Stati Uniti dell'Anglo-America ha provato a tutti che la pubblicità degli atti tanto giudiciarj che parlamentarj, e d'ogni altro, è

necessaria alla giustizia, alla libertà, ed al buon governo, ed in conseguenza alla pace e felicità di tutte le nazioni. Per questa ragione desidero imprestare una delle dette imprimerie all' Eccellentissimo Governo Generale della Grecia, a vista che esso abbia la volontà ed i mezzi per metterla in utile attività. Ho scritto al Signor Dr. Psylas a Athene, onde sapere se è disposto di condurre la detta imprimeria su principi perfettamente liberali ed imparziali alla sede del E. Governo. Sperando di partire il più presto possibile per la Peloponneso, vi sollicito di rispondermi prontamente su questa comunicazione. Ho l'onore di protestarmi.

Vostro umilissimo servitore,

L. S.

*Agente del Comitato Greco in Londra.**

* TRANSLATION.

To the most excellent the General Government of Greece in
Cranidi.

Missolonghi, January 7th, 1824.

The English Committee has sent hither several presses, for the purpose of spreading the light of the nineteenth century, and causing it to act on the destinies of the Greek nation. Long experience in England, in Switzerland, and in the United States of Anglo-America, has proved to all that the publicity of judicial, parliamentary, and all other proceedings, is necessary to justice, liberty, and good government, and consequently to the peace and happiness of all nations. For this reason I am desirous of lending one of the said presses to the most excellent General Government of Greece, seeing that it has both the will and the means of putting it into a state of useful activity.

I have written to Signor Psylas, at Athens, to know if he is disposed to conduct the said press on perfectly liberal and impartial

The following circular concerns the schools.

CIRCULAIRE.

Missolonghi, 8 Janvier, 1824.

Messieurs,

JE suis chargé du Comité d'Angleterre pour établir des écoles en Grèce, en but de repandre les lumières. Quelques bons patriotes d'ici se sont réunis chez moi hier au soir a ma recherche, et ils ont décidé les propositions suivantes :

Missolonghi, 26 Decembre, 1823, S. V.

Assemblée de quelques bons patriotes a Missolonghi, a but de former un Comité qui s'occupera de repandre l'éducation en Grèce.

(Choix de 14 membres du Comité.)

Les membres presents ont décidé de s'unir les dits messieurs invités par une circulaire chez M. le Col. Stanhope, à 10 heures d'après midi de la Dimanche prochaine, pour commencer la première session de leur Comité.

D'après cette dernière resolution, je vous sollicite de m'honorer chez moi à 10 heures la Dimanche prochaine.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

L. S.*

principles, at the seat of government. As I am in hopes of setting out as soon as possible for the Peloponnesus, I beg of you to give me an early answer to this communication.

I have the honour to profess myself

Your most humble servant,

L. S.

Agent of the Greek Committee in London.

• CIRCULAR.

Missolonghi, January 8th, 1824.

Gentlemen,

I AM charged by the English Committee to establish

I attended the church here on Christmas day. The women were all behind the lattices. The ceremony was chiefly mummary. The priests are said to be illiterate and immoral. The people are not very superstitious nor much priest ridden. Education, the press, the translation of the scriptures, and the collision of religious opinions, will purify their minds on the most important subjects. I beg of you to send the prospectus of the Greek Chronicle to the three German Committees, and desire them to get the Sub-committees to subscribe to it.

The congress here have done much good. They have agreed to limit their force to 2500 men in Western Greece, which consists of twelve cantons. They have also resolved to nominate a military council of three, who are to remain with the government, and are to be the channel of communication between it and the army. All the revenues, instead of being seized by the Capi-

schools in Greece, with the view of spreading information. Several good patriots of this town met yesterday evening, by my desire, at my residence, and agreed to the following propositions:

Missolonghi, December 26th, 1823, (O.S.)

" Meeting of some good patriots for the purpose of forming a committee to spread the benefits of education in Greece.

(Choice of 14 members of the Committee.)

" The members present have resolved to meet the aforesaid gentlemen, invited by a circular, at Colonel Stanhope's, on Sunday next, at ten o'clock in the evening, to open the first sitting of their Committee."

In pursuance of this last resolution, I have to solicit the favour of your company, at my residence, at ten o'clock next Sunday.

I have the honour to be, &c.

L. S.

tani for the payment of their troops, are to be placed in the coffers of the government. This will enable them to pay and control the army, and to put the constitution in force. Eastern Greece has resolved to follow the measures adopted by the Congress at Missolonghi, and Ulysses will support them. Thus our prospect brightens. Eastern and Western Greece are united in the work of improvement, and the people of the Morea are disgusted with the salt-monopoly and the disunion which prevails amongst the chiefs, and in their government. The expedition to Lepanto will certainly take place. Lord Byron, who is soldier-mad, will accompany it with his 500. The Suliots may, perhaps, creep into and take the fortress by surprise; or Parry may frighten them with the artillery and his fires into a surrender, or else it must be starved out. The garrison are tired of the constraint and privations which they are compelled to endure.

I beg of you to address all the societies which can be useful to Greece. The Bible Society can send them the scriptures in modern Greek; the School Societies, masters and books; the Agricultural Society, models, and books; the Benevolent Society, money or information, &c. I think you should get some short elementary tracts on freedom, on publicity, on justice, and on agriculture, translated into modern Greek. The intelligence contained in them might then be spread through the medium of the newspapers.

The Dispensary is now established under charge of Dr. Millingen.

Dr. Tindall has just arrived from Athens. He says that every thing will be furnished for an hospital there by the

government, except medicines. He represents the executive and legislative bodies as in a passive situation with regard to each other. Metaxa is still officiating in the executive. The country is in a quiet state; the police active and efficient; and the people remarkably civil to the English. Dr. T. presented a letter of recommendation to the governor of Ægina and Salamis. He said he had rather he had come without one, as the name of an Englishman was quite sufficient.

The Moreots, Dr. T. says, are crying out for a king, but he must be a foreigner. Bernadotte is mentioned. Why not the Duke of Sussex?

Messrs. Hastings, Trelaway, Finlay, and Hesketh, are all at Athens. Mr. Hastings is highly spoken of by the executive body; you should appoint him your agent at Candia, and in the islands.

Dr. T. says that the chiefs will not allow a press to be established, as it would destroy their influence. They say it is premature. *Nous verrons.*

Bark and calomel are much required.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXIV.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 14th January, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

HEREWITH, enclosed, I send you the first number of the Greek Chronicle. Our motto is—"The greatest good of the greatest number," and upon this principle the paper is to be conducted. The first article

contains the news ; the second is the proclamation of the legislative body on the excesses committed by the generals of the executive. The last is Lord Byron's letter on conciliation. The assembly here is dissolved, and the Capitani and Primates are about to proceed to their respective stations. The great measure effected by the Congress is the reduction of the military establishment of each of the chiefs, and the obtaining their sanction for placing all the revenue in the coffers of the government. This will enable the government to put the constitution and the laws in force. Lord Byron has taken 500 Suliots into pay. He burns with military ardour and chivalry, and will proceed with the expedition to Lepanto. The Suliots have refused to quit Missolonghi till they are paid. The government, not having the means to pay them, have called upon the authorities in the city to make the necessary disbursements. All this will be arranged. The constitutional party are gaining ground in the Morea.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXV.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 14th January, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

OUR courier, who is a German officer, has just returned with the Germans from the Morea. There remain of the whole corps only twenty-six persons, the rest have retired or are dead. Of those that remain few will be available. It is not, therefore, yet decided

whether they shall all be sent back to Germany, or whether the elect shall be retained as a skeleton, on which to form a corps of Greek artillery. The object of such a corps would be to breach and assault fortresses, to direct the rockets, to defend places, to work in the laboratory, &c. Our courier was searched by order of Colocotroni, but he concealed the letters. He was obliged to tear up Mavrocordato's passport, and to get another from the local authorities. The courier informs us that the legislative body is in force, and can count upon 3 or 4,000 men, and, in general, upon the great mass of the people. The courier was in the presence of the young Colocotroni, (the great Chief's nephew,) at Gastouni, when five soldiers entered the room, and demanded their pay and dismissal. He gave them their pay, but desired to know their reasons for leaving him. They would, for some time, assign no reason. At last, a noble Greek soldier stepped forward, and said, I will speak truth: the reason I quit your service is, that I will not serve against my countrymen. Parry has not arrived; he puts me in a fever. I am anxious to be with the legislative body; but till he arrives, I cannot move. The conduct of the Holy Alliance against the South American States makes me tremble for Greece. We have not a moment to lose. Pray send to Dr. Meyer matter for the Gazette, in Italian, German, or French. In all things connected with Greece consult those Anglo-Indians who understand the character of Asiatic nations. It is for this reason that I find myself quite at home in Greece.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXVI.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 7th January, 1824.

My dear B.

GREECE is big with events; every day we receive some important intelligence, and our time passes away in a perpetual crisis. Since the attack made upon the legislative body at Argos, and the attempt made to rob them of their archives, two proclamations have been issued by the executive. The first of these contained a defence of their conduct, but expressed no regret for what had happened; and the second called on the representatives of the nation to send deputies to confer with them, and to settle their differences. The legislative body, finding, however, that, under the mask of conciliation, the disorders went on increasing, resolved on changing the members of the executive *in toto*. Colocotroni had, some time back, sent in his resignation; but this he was wont to do when in a sullen mood; Metaxa had been dismissed for absenting himself from his duties, and the other three members were, I trust, tried and judged singly, and according to the language of the constitution. The newly-chosen executive consists of Giorgio Conduriottis, the president; of Panioti Botasi, an admiral; of John Coletti, a clever but intriguing politician; and of Nicolo Londos, of Patras; the fifth member is not yet named. The islands approve these measures; and all here seem to entertain the same feeling. The general opinion is,

that they will be attended with no evil, but with every beneficial consequence. Eastern and Western Greece, the islands, and the people, all appear adverse to Colocotroni; and there are none but Petrobey, Niketas, and some others of his powerful relations, who support him.

Coray has addressed Mavrocordato from Paris. He is the only Greek that speaks in the right tone. He cuts up Metaxa for his petition to the Pope, in which he places Greece at the disposal of the Holy Alliance. He strongly recommends the diffusion of instruction, through the medium of education and the press, and ridicules Ipsilanti for retaining his Turkish title of prince.

The press is exciting general interest. All our party are working for it; some translate, and some write original articles. As yet we have not got a compositor to arrange our Italian types; and we have no figures. These are obstacles and trifles that we must overcome. We are apprehensive that Sir Thomas Maitland will doom the Greek Chronicle to an everlasting quarantine.

The Germans have arrived; but they are so weak in numbers, and so demoralized by hardships, that only five or six can be found that will suit the proposed artillery corps. Under these circumstances, I raised difficulties, but Lord Byron would hear of none. He insisted upon having my £100, and threatened, if I refused it, to libel me in my own Chronicle. Upon this I took fire, and declared that, if he would do so with all the strength of his powerful and sarcastic mind, I would pledge myself to subscribe double the sum. Am I not a swaggerer? Be this as it may, an artillery corps there will be, com-

posed of German and English officers and Greek soldiers.

Lord Byron has received a letter from Capt. Hastings, in which he recommends a steam-vessel. He would build it here, and have the engine sent out from England. It should carry two thirty-two pounders and two large carrozades of sixty-eight, from which he would fire the newly-invented shells, which I believe act as both shot and shell. The crew to consist of sixty Englishmen. With such a ship, Captain H. thinks he could sail into the Dardanelles and destroy the Turkish fleet. For my own part I do not calculate on wonders: I do, however, think that, with such a vessel, the Turkish fleet now in the Gulf of Lepanto might be destroyed. At my request Count Gamba, who is a good and sensible person, has made an extract from the letter, and will forward it to the general government for consideration. Prince Mavrocordato told me that the islands would lend one of their vessels if required. Perhaps you could fit out a large boat with a powerful steam apparatus to tow a ship that would answer the purpose, be more applicable, and less expensive. I shall propose to the government to devote a part of the loan, provided they obtain one, to this object.

We have just heard that Parry has arrived at Corfu, and we expect him here immediately. Every thing is preparing for him.—A house, an artillery and rocket corps, and an expedition against Lepanto. One week after his arrival I hope to be in the Morea; and, I think, Lord Byron will start about the same time, with his 500 brave Saliots, for Lepanto.

Lepanto is a place of no strength. The garrison

consists of about 500 Turks. They have a free communication with Patras, and cannot be starved out while they are masters of that place and of the Gulf. The fortress might, I think, be taken by surprise, by escalading it, a little before dawn, in half a dozen places at once. The success of any one of the divisions would secure the capture. As for taking Lepanto, with the Greek troops, by siege or by shells and rockets, such an event is extremely improbable. All would depend on the conduct of its defenders. Asiatics, behind walls, behave frequently like heroes, and sometimes like dastards. With them no one can calculate on results.

The press which you sent out has been made over to Dr. J. J. Meyer, of Missolonghi. He had previously only the use of a press, but this being but an indifferent one, and belonging to the printer who refused to publish Mr. Bentham's remarks in the prospectus, I thought it desirable to secure the freedom of writing and publishing by placing our press in the hands of a bold, honest, and intelligent Swiss.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 18th January, 1824.

My dear Sir,

I HAVE just read a letter from a person at Lepanto. He says that the soldiers in all the fortresses

are clamorous for their pay. In the absence of other intelligence of temporary interest, I will endeavour to give you an idea of the present state of Greece, as regards the administration of justice.

Greece is divided into cantons and sub-cantons. These are under the immediate government of prefects and sub-prefects. Each community elects a president, who is under the primate of the district, and both are directed by the sub-prefect. In every canton and sub-canton there is a court of justice. The prefect communicates with the minister of the home-department. In each canton there is a secretary-general, a finance-minister, a war-minister, a naval-minister and captain of the port where required, and a minister of police. The sub-cantons have analogous establishments. Each community elects three persons, who represent the government, and act under the sub-prefect.

There is a justice of the peace in each canton. In each sub-canton there is a court consisting of three judges for commercial, political, and criminal affairs. These courts are provisional. In each canton there is a tribunal of five, called *Tribunal des Armes*. The justice of the peace decides all matters not exceeding one hundred piastres; those under fifty piastres are not appealable. He also judges all petty cases of assault, and all questions concerning irrigation. He cannot sentence to more than three months' imprisonment, and has the power of changing bodily punishment into a fine, which must not exceed 150 piastres. From these judgments there is no appeal. Each justice of the peace has a secretary and a registrar. No prosecution can take place without a written statement. All sentences must

be given in public and in writing. If the parties are not satisfied with the sentence, they must immediately write down their intention to appeal on the brief.

The first tribunals decide political, commercial, and criminal affairs; and, also, cases of appeal from the justices of the peace. In these courts all pleas and answers must be in writing: their sentences are not definitive, but are liable to revision by the Tribunals of Appeal.

The Tribunals of Appeal judge all cases of appeal from the first tribunals. The sentences of these courts, on commercial and political affairs, not exceeding 4,000 piastres, are final; but, when they exceed that sum, an appeal lies to the General Tribunal of Greece. In criminal cases the sentences of the Tribunals of Appeal are not appealable, except sentence of decapitation be awarded, in which case, reference may be made to the General Tribunal.

Each community has a notary, who must be approved by the government. All money-contracts must be made in his presence, and both parties must come before him for that purpose. He must, also, attend those who wish to make their wills, and notify the physical and moral state of the testators.

The most important measure to impress on the public mind in Greece is publicity. To this end, I have caused many articles on the subject, from Bentham, Dumont, and others, to be translated for insertion in the Greek Chronicle. To give additional weight to their writings with the ignorant, I have written on the subject of their characters. The following is an example:—"We understand that Mr. Bentham has directed Colonel

" Stanhope to send to England two Greek boys, to
 " whom he will give the best possible education. We
 " trust that Colonel S. will be extremely careful in his
 " selection. He should consult the wisest men on this
 " subject. He should endeavour to obtain the offspring
 " of parents who have been prominent in rescuing
 " Greece from the Satanical rule of the Turks, and
 " have been firm in promoting her liberties; also, chil-
 " dren of ingenuous disposition, of healthy frames,
 " of superior natural talents, and who are likely here-
 " after to have an influence in the state. We felicitate
 " our countrymen on having such a friend as Bentham.
 " From the commencement of our struggle, he has
 " taken a deep and active interest in our salvation; and
 " he has lately, we hear, written a commentary on our
 " excellent constitution. These acts acquire additional
 " lustre from Mr. Bentham's character. He is the
 " greatest civilian of this, or, perhaps, of any age, and
 " is renowned all over the world as a great public
 " benefactor."

We had a riot here last night. Some Suliots insisted
 upon taking up their quarters in the house of a
 burgher. Resistance was made, and several persons
 were wounded. The fray over, a townsman went to
 Prince Mavrocordato to demand redress. Presently
 after, a corps of Suliots went to him, for the same pur-
 pose. I met them on my road home from Dr. Meyer's.
 The burgher on his way was questioned by Dr. Meyer.
 He was narrating the events of the fray, when a Suli-
 ot passed, and shot him dead. The Prince assembled the
 military chiefs, and insisted on their delivering up the
 malefactors to justice. They shuffled, argued, and,

finally, consented. Wonder not at this fray : wonder, rather, that 5,000 undisciplined, ill-paid, armed soldiers, from different quarters, should have been here nearly a month, should have consented to a reduction of their force, and should, under these circumstances, have departed without having been guilty of any outrage.

The Greek fleet is under sail to watch the Turkish fleet, which is said to be coming out. We are expecting Parry every moment. The Turkish fleet has, since writing the above, ventured to quit the Gulf, and is, we think, gone to Prevesa.

Dr. J. J. Meyer has conferred the greatest possible service on the cause of Greece, by establishing a free press at Missolonghi. He conducts it on the most liberal and enlightened principles, and I do, therefore, most earnestly solicit the Committee to subscribe £50 or £100 toward the support of the Greek Chronicle. This paper will be regularly forwarded to the Committee.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 21st January, 1824.

My dear B.

MEN of business and talent are much wanted in Greece. In no country is there a greater deficiency of practical statesmen, and in few is there a greater

diffusion of intellectual aptitude among the people. I mention this because I wish you to send out here a few men of political acquirements to write for the public journals; and, also, to induce as many independent persons to travel hither as possible. The continent of Europe is overrun with Greeks, whose presence in their own country would be of infinite service to the cause. Try to persuade all friends of liberty to bend their course this way, provided they can afford to spend from £60 to £100 per annum. Such men will materially assist the state.

The Greek fleet has departed, and the Turkish fleet now blockades the port. What will become of Parry? I have suggested the following plan:—To write to Parry to proceed to some safe port in the neighbourhood, with orders to come hither, and to disembark the moment the Turks disappear; then to spread a report that the Greek fleet is expected here immediately, and to send out some gun-boats in the dead of night to fire into the sterns of the Turkish vessels. These measures, I should expect, would induce the Turkish fleet to retire into the Gulf, and Parry would thus be enabled to land the stores, and the *Ann* might afterwards depart in safety.

Enclosed is the third number of our Chronicle. The first article is on the war: the second is a strong attack on the defunct executive body. Its language is bold and true. I doubt, however, whether it is wise to make enemies of a party so powerful. My policy in this country, and at this period, would be to strive to offend no one, but, on the contrary, to make all friendly to the press. I would, however, at the same time, contend

for the absolute liberty of the press, and for publicity in every shape. If the bolder course succeed, so much the better; but I do not like to hazard and gamble where the fundamental happiness of a nation is at stake. The last article in the Chronicle is on Mr. Bentham. Its object is to dispose the people to read and contemplate his works. Conviction follows.

✓ Lord Byron possesses all the means of playing a great part in the glorious revolution of Greece. He has talent; he professes liberal principles; he has money; and is inspired with fervent and chivalrous feelings. He has commenced his career by two good measures:—1st, by recommending union, and declaring himself of no party: and, 2dly, by taking 500 Suliots into pay, and acting as their chief. These acts cannot fail to render his Lordship universally popular, and proportionally powerful. Thus advantageously circumstanced, his Lordship will have an opportunity of realizing all his professions. In his course he will be closely watched and scrutinized by his countrymen, and by the whole world. His fame, like that of other prominent men, must depend on his conduct.

We are preparing a brulot, for the purpose of endeavouring to fire one of the Turkish ships. Should we fail, which is probable, we may, nevertheless, succeed in frightening the delicate nerves of the enemy, and inducing him to re-enter the Gulf and raise the blockade.

Mr. Hesketh is about to proceed to Cefalonia, to concert measures for Parry's safe embarkation.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 24th January, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

I AM in the habit of putting written questions to Lord Byron for his decision. The following have received his Lordship's answers, and I am desirous of submitting them to the Committee.

1st.—Will your Lordship allow me to make over a certain quantity of Greek and Roman types to the editor of the Greek Chronicle?—Yes.

2d.—Will your Lordship subscribe £50 for the support of the Greek paper?—Yes.

3d.—Will your Lordship allow me to take round the printing press, &c. to the seat of the Greek government, i. e. of the legislative body?—We will talk over this article.

4th.—Will your Lordship subscribe £100 towards the support of the German artillery?—Yes.

5th.—Will your Lordship allow £100 of your loan to the Greek government to be made over to the German Committee, they having advanced that sum to the said government on my guaranteeing its repayment?—Yes.

6th.—Would your Lordship approve of Mr. Hesketh being appointed Sub-intendant of Stores?—Yes.

7th.—Would your Lordship approve of my exchanging the Greek Committee's press for the one belonging to the editor here?—This article I do not quite understand, but will talk it over with you.

The following one has given rise to some discussion

between his Lordship and myself, with the substance of which I think it necessary that the Committee should be acquainted. I have, therefore, subjoined the heads of a conversation which has passed between us on the subject.

Your Lordship stated yesterday evening that you had said to Prince Mavrocordato that, "were you in his place, you would have placed the press under a censor," and that he replied, "No; the liberty of the press is guaranteed by the constitution." Now I wish to know whether your Lordship was serious when you made the observation, or whether you only said so to provoke me? If your Lordship was serious, I shall consider it my duty to communicate this affair to the Committee in England, in order to show them how difficult a task I have to fulfil, in promoting the liberties of Greece, if your Lordship is to throw the weight of your vast talents into the opposite scale on a question of such vital importance. To this question I solicit a written answer, lest I should misrepresent your Lordship's opinion and sentiments.

After Lord Byron had read this paper he entered into conversation with me on the subject. He said that he was an ardent friend of publicity and the press; but he feared that it was not applicable to this society in its present combustible state. I answered that I thought it applicable to all countries, and essential here, in order to put an end to the state of anarchy which at present prevailed. Lord B. feared libels and licentiousness. I said that the object of a free press was to check public licentiousness, and to expose libellers to odium. Lord B. had mentioned his conversation with Mavrocordato to show that the Prince was, not hostile to the

press. I declared that I knew him to be an enemy to the press, although he dared not openly to avow it. His Lordship then said that he had not made up his mind about the liberty of the press in Greece, but that he thought the experiment worth trying.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXX.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 27th January, 1824.

My dear B.

THE *Capitani* being the most powerful and influential men in Greece, I will give you a short account of one of them, named Stonaris. This chief lives at a village called Kutchino, near the river Aspropotamos, in Thrace. A portion of his property lies in the plain, and the rest in the mountains. He possesses about one hundred and twenty villages, and each of these contains, upon an average, about seventy families. The people of the mountains are chiefly occupied with their herds. Stonaris himself has about 7 or 8,000 head of cattle, and his family altogether own about 500,000. They consist of horses, oxen, cows, sheep, and goats, but chiefly of the two latter. The flocks remain seven months in the mountains, and the rest of the year in the plains. The *Capitano* lets out his cattle to herdsmen, who are bound to give him yearly, for each sheep, two pounds of butter, two pounds of cheese, two pounds of wool, and one

piastre. Each family has from fifty to one hundred and fifty head of cattle, and they generally clear a small tract of ground and cultivate it. The plains are tolerably well cultivated. They do not belong to Stonaris, but are held by the cultivators, who pay one-third of their rent to the Turks, one-third to the *Capitano*, and one-third for the maintenance of the soldiers.

The peasantry live ill. They have eighty-nine fast-days in the year, in addition to the regular fasts, which are every Friday and Saturday. On other days they eat cheese, butter, and bread; and on Sundays and festivals, meat. The women are treated like slaves, and perform all the hard labour. The *Capitani* and Primates pay little more respect to their wives than to their vassals. When a stranger appears, the women kiss his hand, and bring him water. They do not appear at table with their lords.

The inferior *Capitani*, under Stonaris, each receive the dues of three or four families, and each command a certain number of men.

The regular soldiers under Stonaris amount to 400. He could muster 3000 more from among his peasantry. They are paid only during three months in the year: the first class receive twenty piastres per month; the second, fifteen; and the third, twelve. They live well, and eat twice a day bread and meat. They receive their rations from the owners of the houses where they dwell. They are furnished with ammunition and hides to make shoes of from the *Capitano*, but they find their own arms and clothes. They are subjected to no military discipline or punishment, and can quit their chief at pleasure. When on a march, the officers of the

villages through which they pass must furnish them with quarters, and the owners of the houses where they lodge must provide them with food and whatever they demand; if they do not, they are sure to be ill-treated. The troops cannot, however, remain above three or four days in the same village.

There is a Primate in each village. These Primates are under the control of the *Capitani*, who are the princes of the country.

Each village is generally provided with two or three priests, who receive from 100 to 600 piastres yearly. The people are very religious, and fear their pastors. There are several monasteries, in Stonaris' district, but no nunneries. In the Morea there are two nunneries. The Priests are not generally rich.

Justice there is none. The Priests, the Primates, or the *Capitani*, decide arbitrarily in all cases.

The wives of the soldiers remain in the villages during their husbands' absence, to look after their families and flocks.

Parry has not yet arrived.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 28th Jan. 1824.

My dear B.

PARRY has arrived at Ithaca, and has sent Mr. Humphries to Missolonghi for instructions. After

receiving his intelligence, I consulted with Lord Byron and Prince Mavrocordato. I then wrote to Parry to proceed to Dragomestre, there to disembark all his stores, and to place them in the magazines. From Dragomestre, they will be conveyed to this place in small craft. Two hours after Mr. H.'s arrival, he was sent back to Ithaca, so that the amount of demurrage will not be great.

Colonel Gordon and Captain Blaquiere are, I am told, coming out to Greece in the spring. Their presence will be attended with the most beneficial consequences. Pray urge their speedy departure.

Capt. York, of the *Alacrity*, a ten-gun-brig, came on shore, a few days ago, to demand an equivalent for an Ionian boat that had been taken in the act of going out of the Gulf of Lepanto with provisions, arms, &c. The Greek fleet, at that time, blockaded the harbour with five brigs, and the Turks had fourteen vessels of war in the Gulf. The Captain maintained, that the British government recognized no blockade that was not efficient, and that that efficiency depended on the numerical superiority of cannon. On this principle, without going at all into the merits of the case, he demanded restitution of the property. Prince Mavrocordato remonstrated, and offered to submit the case to the decision of the British government: but the Captain peremptorily demanded restitution of the property in four hours. He received 200 dollars as an equivalent. Lord Byron conducted the business in behalf of the Captain. In the evening he conversed with me on the subject. I said the affair was conducted in a bullying manner, and not according to the principles of equity and the law of nations. His

Lordship started into a passion. He contended, that law, justice, and equity, had nothing to do with politics. That may be ; but I will never lend myself to injustice. His Lordship then began, according to custom, to attack Mr. Bentham. I said, that it was highly illiberal to make personal attacks on Mr. Bentham before a friend who held him in high estimation. He said, that he only attacked his public principles, which were mere theories, but dangerous ;—injurious to Spain, and calculated to do great mischief in Greece. I did not object to his Lordship's attacking Mr. B.'s principles ; what I objected to were his personalities. His Lordship never reasoned on any of Mr. B.'s writings, but merely made sport of them. I would, therefore, ask him what it was that he objected to? Lord Byron mentioned his Panopticon as visionary. I said that experience in Pennsylvania, at Milbank, &c. had proved it otherwise. I said that Bentham had a truly British heart ; but that Lord Byron, after professing liberal principles from his boyhood, had, when called upon to act, proved himself a Turk.—Lord Byron asked, what proofs have you of this?—Your conduct in endeavouring to crush the press, by declaiming against it to Mavrocordato, and your general abuse of liberal principles.—Lord Byron said, that if he had held up his finger he could have crushed the press.—I replied, with all this power, which, by the way, you never possessed, you went to the Prince and poisoned his ear.—Lord Byron declaimed against the liberals whom he knew.—But what liberals? I asked : did he borrow his notions of free-men from the Italians?—Lord Byron. No ; from the Hunts, Cartwrights, &c.—And still, said I, you presented Cartwright's Reform Bill,

and aided Hunt by praising his poetry and giving him the sale of your works.—Lord Byron exclaimed, you are worse than Wilson, and should quit the army.—I replied, I am a mere soldier, but never will I abandon my principles. Our principles are diametrically opposite, so let us avoid the subject. If Lord Byron acts up to his professions, he will be the greatest ;—if not, the meanest of mankind.—He said he hoped his character did not depend on my assertions.—No, said I, your genius has immortalized you. The worst could not deprive you of fame.—Lord Byron, Well; you shall see : judge me by my acts. When he wished me good night, I took up the light to conduct him to the passage, but he said, What ! hold up a light to a Turk !

I hope that the Quakers will now begin to apply their funds to the promotion of education, the establishment of dispensaries, &c. in Greece. Their aid is much wanted, and it will be most usefully and effectually applied in the country itself. We should limit our charities to acts of wide-spreading and permanent utility. All our exertions must otherwise be comparatively insignificant. Some of the unfortunate Greeks, whom the Quakers, with such laudable intentions sent home, are now pining in want, and contributing to create farther distress. I am surprised that this does not occur to their excellent understandings.

Ulysses writes, that the Turks have endeavoured to make a diversion in Negropont, but have been driven back into the fortress. He represents the capture of Negropont as essential to the interests of Greece, inasmuch as the riches of that place alone would enable her to carry on the war against the Turks. Ulysses talks of

a congress at Salona in Eastern Greece. This powerful chief is said to be in the democratic interest.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 31st Jan. 1824.

My dear B.

THE members of the new executive body have been sworn in, and all seems to be going on quietly. Petrobey and Sotiris Caralamba wrote to the general government requesting that their names might be added to the list of the Supreme Council, in order to prevent the disgrace of being dismissed. This was refused, but they were allowed to resign. When the ex-members received the account of their fall, they are said to have felt like fish within the influence of a blazing light,—amazed—stupefied—lost.

The Suliots have refused to quit Missolonghi, until they have received the arrears of pay that are due to them, and until some place has been appointed for the reception of their families. There are 500 of them here, and they receive rations for 1200. This is a Turkish custom, and is very apt to mislead people with respect to the strength of their armies. The Suliots are

much protected by Prince Mavrocordato. Other chiefs have their own troops to support them, but he, having no money, and therefore no followers, looks to the Suliots for political and personal support.

Foreign influence will, I fear, soon show itself in hostile array against the liberties of Greece. The sovereigns, in their great and infinite goodness, will send us a ruler of their caste. If the Emperor of the North should send us, from the wilderness, a rugged Russian bear, there are those here that would embrace it. Remember, this is my opinion, and all my exertions are directed, not towards averting such an evil, for that is impossible, but towards ingrafting such maxims on the public mind, and establishing such institutions as will eventually thwart the efforts of despotism. Education and publicity I hold to be the most effectual means of promoting this object.

Mavrocordato is a clever, shrewd, insinuating, and amiable man. He wins men, at first, by his yes's and his smiles. He is accessible and open to good counsel; but he pursues a temporizing policy, and there is nothing great or profound in his mind. He has the ambition, but not the daring or the self-confidence required to play a first part in the state. His game, therefore, is to secure the second character either under the commonwealth or under a king. The constitution is said to be his child, but he seems to have no parental predilections in its favour. And what, after all, can you expect from a Turk or Greek of Constantinople? All men are more or less influenced by the circumstances and the society that surround them; and Mavrocordato, in the office of

a vizier, might be eulogized by the historian as a demigod.

The Greek constitution has many defects. What constitution has not? But, with all its faults, the friends of liberty should cling to it, lest the Holy Alliance should take advantage of their dissensions, step in, and mar the work of improvement.

The artillery corps makes great progress. Care has been taken to select for it none but men of good character; and to establish a rigid discipline, without harshness or cruelty. The people crowd round the corps when it is at exercise; the Suliots begin to follow their example, and even the children imitate their manœuvres. Our object should be, to establish a disciplined force on constitutional principles. I shall, therefore, hold out to the Greeks the utility of co-operation. In proof of this I shall set before their minds the feebleness of the Persian hordes, the strength of the phalanxes of their ancestors, and the competency of the militias of Switzerland and America to cope with the best armies of modern times.

Parry has been ordered to proceed from Ithaca to Dragomestre, or Scrofus, and from thence to send the articles, in boats, to Missolonghi. As soon as I have settled him here, and seen his men and machinery fairly at work, I shall proceed to Lepanto, to Napoli, and Cranidi.

Lord Byron has been officially placed in command of about 3000 troops, destined for the attack of Lepanto. The garrison is discontented, and there is hope of its surrendering, either formally or by treachery. The

Greek troops will not storm. The capture of this place would be of vast importance to the Greek cause.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXXIII.

TO SIR F. STOVEN.

Missolonghi, 3d Feb. 1824.

My dear Sir,

MY letters have been detained an unusual time in the post-office, at Zante. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to communicate the circumstance to you, in order that you may take such measures as you may think expedient, to prevent the recurrence of such neglect. I cannot imagine that any thing of a questionable character occasioned the detention of my letters, especially as they have always been sent unsealed. They are left open to any one who will take the trouble to read them. All I solicit is, that, when curiosity is satisfied, they may be forwarded to the person to whom they are addressed.

Pray excuse the liberty I take in addressing you on this subject, and believe me

Your most faithful servant,

L. S.

LETTER XXXIV.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Missolonghi, 4th Feb. 1824.

My dear B.

PARRY has not arrived, but nearly all the people and stores, sent out by the Committee, are safely lodged in the Seraglio. This house has long been in the possession of the Suliots. It is a place of considerable strength, and may be considered the citadel of Missolonghi. The Suliots are, as you know, without a home; several month's pay are due to them, and they are the best soldiers in Greece. Under these circumstances, they have constantly evaded quitting Missolonghi and the Seraglio; Lord Byron has, however, used an argument that has persuaded them to do both. He told them that if they did not quit the Seraglio immediately and the town when he commanded them so to do, he would discharge them from his service. The Suliots esteem Lord Byron and his money. They consented.

How is it that our curious and enterprising countrymen are so backward in visiting Greece? There was a time when they had a rage for travelling here, and now that their presence would be so useful, thousands of them halt in Italy, within one stage of this land of interest, as if crossing the Ionian Sea were as difficult an undertaking as the North-western Passage. Or is it the annoyances and dangers which they dread? No,—that would not be consistent with their manly character; besides, both these evils were perhaps greater under the Turkish rule than they are at the present moment.

That Greeks of education, who are declaiming about patriotism in a foreign land, should absent themselves from their native country, is another grievance deeply to be deplored. These are the men that should be struggling in the good fight, or endeavouring to put the laws and constitution in force. I beg of you, through the medium of the public prints, to do your best to persuade all such persons to proceed immediately to Greece. I am much disappointed at your not having persuaded the Quakers to send out some school-masters. Had I at my disposal three well-qualified persons of this description, I would spread the Lancasterian system as far as the Grecian conquests have extended.

The emigrant Greeks, whom the *fighting* and Swiss and Quaker Committees have sent to Greece, are starving. Surely it would have been better to have left them where they were, rather than to have exposed them to this state of indigence, and to have applied the funds so expended to other objects.

Arrangements have been making to establish a national force in Missolonghi. The town is to be divided into cantons; each of these is to elect a chief, and all are to serve in their turns. The sailors are to serve in the artillery, and the rest as irregulars. The whole are to exercise every Sunday. This outline has been decided on. When this system is in full operation, the mercenaries will not be required.

The Dispensary has succeeded. The affluent pay a moderate price for their medicines; the indigent have theirs for nothing. On this principle, with the trifling capital of £40, and the aid of a medical man, this

charity may, in any considerable town, be established and perpetuated.

The Greek Bibles have arrived. They will save the priests the trouble of enlightening the darkness of their flocks. Flocks indeed! With the press and the Bibles, the whole mind of Greece may be put in labour.

The Greek government have issued a proclamation containing twelve charges against the late executive body for having violated the constitution. All is quiet and going on well: wonderfully well, considering the ages of despotism from which Greece is just escaped.

I am, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXXV.

TO PRINCE MAVROCORDATO.

Missolonghi, li 5 febbrajo, 1824.

Principe,

ABBIAMO l'onore di informarvi che il Comitato Greco di Inghilterra ha mandato in Grecia un' elaboratorio completo coi necessarj artifici, che si stabilisce ora in Missolonghi. Il Comitato con questa sua misura, come in tutte le altre, brama di far avanzare la cognizione e la libertà della Grecia. Quest' elaboratorio è capace di preparare e formare tutti i materiali di guerra, sia per il servizio marittimo, che di terra. Può costruire dei bastimenti di qualunque specie, fondere cannoni, mortaj, palle, e bombe di Schrapnel; costruire carri d' ogni forma, far polvere, razzi alla Congrève, ed ogni

sorta di fuochi incendiarj. Il direttore, o maestro di fuoco può dare insegnamenti per la pratica dell' artiglieria, per gettare le bombe, i razzi, ed anche per tutta l'arte di fabbricare ogni materiale di guerra.

Quest' elaboratorio puossi considerare anche non solo qual utile sorgente di tutti i bisogni per la guerra, ma qual modello, e scuola. Avendo fatto uno schizzo del carattere di questa parte, desideriamo di informarvi che esso stabilimento è soltanto per la pubblica utilità; perciò vi preghiamo di additarci immantinente in qual modo volete servirvene, e quali sono gli oggetti che stimate necessarj per la spedizione che si è sul punto di intraprendere; e nell' aspettativa di una pronta risposta, passiamo con distinta stima a dirci di v. eccell.

Devotissimi servi,

NOEL BYRON,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.*

* TRANSLATION.

To Prince Mavrocordato.

Missolonghi, 5th February, 1824.

Prince,

We have the honour to inform you that the Greek Committee of England has sent out to Greece a complete laboratory-establishment, which is now fixed at Missolonghi. The Committee in this, as in all its measures, is anxious to promote the knowledge and freedom of Greece. The laboratory-establishment is capable of manufacturing all the materials of war, either in the naval or military department. The artizans can construct vessels of all descriptions; they can found cannons, mortars, and howitzers; also shot, shells, and spherical case shot; they can make carriages of all kinds; likewise gunpowder, Congreve rockets, and all sorts of inflammable fires; the fire-master undertakes to give instruc-

LETTER XXXVI.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Missolonghi, 7th February, 1824.

My dear B.

THE following are the charges of which the members of the late executive were found guilty, by a commission of nine of the legislative body: 1st, For having misapplied the funds of the land and sea forces. 2d, For having allowed two members to carry on the functions of the executive. 3d, For promoting officers contrary to law. 4th, For having sold the cannon taken at Napoli, without consulting the representatives. 5th, For uniting the cantons of St. Pierre and Prastos, without consulting the legislative body. 6th, For selling Turkish slaves contrary to law. 7th, For having proclaimed the sale of the national property without the consent of the

tions in the practice of artillery, in projecting shells and rockets, and in the whole art of manufacturing the materials of war. In a word, this laboratory may be considered not only as a useful source of supplying warlike stores, but as a model and a school.

Having sketched the character of this department, we must now inform you that it is sent here solely for the purpose of public utility. We, therefore, beg of you, forthwith, to inform us in what manner you wish it to be employed, and what stores you require for the expedition which you are on the point of undertaking. In expectation of a prompt reply, we remain,

Your Excellency's most devoted servants,

NOEL BYRON,
LEICESTER STANNHORE.

legislative body. 8th, For allowing the finance minister to establish a monopoly of salt. 9th, For sending M. Metaxa, a member of the executive, to Carilis, and leaving the supreme body of the state with only two persons, and from that period having avoided all correspondence with the legislative body. 10th, For having allowed M. Metaxa to act as a member of the executive, after he had been sentenced to dismissal by a commission of the legislative body. 11th, For not having acknowledged M. Coletti as a member of the executive, after he had been chosen by the legislative body. 12th, For having allowed an armed body to depart from Napoli, and to act against the legislative body at Argos. These charges, and the dismissal of the members of the late executive, were published in a proclamation issued by the presidents of the new executive and the legislative bodies.

The rumoured loan to the Resurrection Knights of Malta has occasioned some surprise here. I understand that the Knights, under the immediate influence of France, offered to assist Greece in her struggle against the Turks, provided that the Greeks would allow them to possess Rhodes, and other states eastward of that island. The Greeks, abandoned even by the constitutional governments and fighting for their lives, gave a sort of provisional consent; but they are by no means pledged to this contract, unless England forces them to seek a refuge in the arms of the enemies of freedom.

The government of the Ionian Isles have allowed the Greek Chronicle to circulate in their territory. It is now sent to Joannina, to Cairo, and to Constantinople. I have no one to work the lithographic-press; however,

I shall learn the art, and shall teach it to others on my arrival in the Morea.

A Committee reported last night to Lord Byron that the Greek government of Missolonghi had not the means of undertaking the siege of Lepanto. He recommended it to be blockaded by 2,000 men, and the artillery corps, with eight of the guns of the Committee. Meanwhile, guns should be sent there from Corinth, and rockets manufactured at Missolonghi. [Vide Appendix, No. 17.]

Parry and his men seemed a little disgusted with the appearance of Missolonghi. It is, indeed, nothing but mud and mire. They are now, however, all hard at work; their thoughts are turned to other matters, and the croaking has ceased. I hope that this laboratory-establishment may be rendered permanent. I consider it as one of the schools that my worthy employers have established for promoting useful knowledge in Greece.

There are about twenty Englishmen here. They give a life and excitement that has changed the appearance of the place. It is for this reason that I wish others of my countrymen to bend their steps this way. Where are your Hobhouses, your Humes, and Sheridans, that used to explore Greece and to deplore her fall?

We are much in want of printers here. I am, in fact, at a loss to know where to find one to take to the seat of government. The editor here has an interest in not communicating the knowledge of his art, and cannot be expected to furnish means of instruction that would militate against that interest. Under these circumstances, I beg of the Committee, when they send Greeks or others here, to have them practically in-

structed in common and lithographic printing. I think the two Greek boys at the Lancasterian school should be employed in this way. Mr. Sheridan Wilson, an American missionary at Malta, has established a Greek press there. He is translating some useful books into that language. To him I have written to send one or two printers to Greece. I wish you would get some elementary works on the English, the American, and the Swiss constitutions translated into modern Greek, and have them circulated in this country.

I am anxious to give permanency to all the measures of the Committee: permanency to our schools, to our hospitals, or dispensaries, to our artillery corps, to our printing-offices, and to our laboratory-establishment. The method of effecting the latter object is by getting a number of Greek mechanics, say twenty, to work there. This method I have proposed to Mr. Parry, to Mavrocordato, and to the Greek government. Mr. Parry has undertaken, in sixteen days, to have the artillery corps disciplined and fit for service. By his advice, eight guns are to accompany Lord Byron's expedition to Lepanto. Each of them will be commanded by an officer. The officers and non-commissioned officers consist of Englishmen and Germans. By this means we have provided for all the persons you have sent out, and for all the Germans that wished to remain in the country. The rest will be sent home.

Pray write to the German and Swiss Committees, and give them accounts of all that is passing here. It is impossible for me, much as I wish it, to keep them informed; and the members of their Committees, whom they have appointed to act for them here, write to them

but seldom. Instead of communicating by every post, they send a packet every three months. I have in vain remonstrated.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 11th February, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

SIR T. MAITLAND is dead. God rest his soul. Lord Byron has sent four Turkish prisoners to Usuff Pacha, at Patras. He has done well. I shall endeavour to take advantage of this act by commenting on it in the public papers. The unchristianlike practice of slaying prisoners will be checked and prevented by the press.

The laboratory is now all arranged. Parry is all life and activity. The establishment does great honour to the Committee. I have inserted the following paragraph in the Greek Chronicle. "The first great object of the Greek Committee in England is to give that civil and military knowledge to Greece of which she has been deprived under the Satanic government of the Turks. The second object is to give permanency to all their acts. To promote the military knowledge of the Greeks the Committee have established a laboratory at Missolonghi: to give permanency to this department they wish to obtain twenty apprentices, from sixteen to twenty years of age. These youths will be employed as refiners, labora-

torians, carpenters, founders, tinmen, smiths, turners, or carriage-makers. The apprentices will receive their rations and one dollar and a half per month." Thus, by continuing the services of Parry or Gill, with one or two of our English mechanics, and a few foreigners, whom we shall enlist in the artillery, and with these twenty apprentices, the laboratory may be rendered a permanent establishment.

The artillery corps will be formed by Parry. At night he will lecture to the officers; and, at the end of ten days, each will be called upon to take the command of a gun and to drill the men belonging to it. He has also agreed to build four gun-boats: each of which is to carry one eighteen-pounder. The Turks will then be unable to lie at anchor in and blockade the harbour.

I am going to take the three presses round to the Morea. I have had trouble in putting them up, some of the apparatus being lost. I, and a carpenter, and a German officer, are about to learn the art of lithographic printing: I have hired and shall take them with me. I hope to establish a press at Athens, at the seat of government, and at Candia.

Two spies have just arrived from Lepanto; they report that the Albanians have seized the citadel and are determined to surrender it to Lord Byron. Great confusion reigns there. Albania is disturbed by a civil war: Arta is left with 500 men, and Prevesa with only 80. Our prospects brighten. The funds of the Committee should, I think, hereafter be devoted to the support of the measures which they have already adopted, and to sending out some able and doing men, and elementary works, in either Italian, German, or French. You

must never forget that you are not administering to men but to children.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 15th February, 1824.

My dear B.

PARRY has carried all his stores to the Seraglio, which is converted into a fine arsenal. He is full of plans, and talks and does much. His first measure was to arrange all things: he then commenced drilling the artillery and preparing the stores for the siege. He has also examined the fortress, or rather the foiblesse, with a view to its improvement. He intends to raise the blockade either by means of two gun-boats, or of a combustible kite. You may laugh, but the nerves of a Turkish sailor are somewhat more delicate than those of our tars. The expedition for Lepanto still lingers at Missolonghi: the Suliots are the cause of this delay. They call loudly for their arrears; but might as well attempt to call a spirit from the deep. However, I believe that an advance guard of 300 will depart, under the command of Count Gamba, in a few days: Lord Byron, with the artillery and the main body, will follow. His Lordship has received his commission from the government. Rumour says that Colocotroni is in a rage, and preparing to attack the authorities at Cranidi. I think his rage will vent itself in words. His partizans accuse Mavrocordato of being in the interest of England, and

declare that he and we are its satellites. All such rumours are immediately silenced by an open and direct course. The first time I meet Colocotroni in high divan, I shall ask him whether he has heard or credits the reports, and then compliment the Greeks on their wise jealousy of foreign troops.

The press now flourishes. When the good work commenced, all parties talked of its being inapplicable to a rude state of society, and other common-places equally unfounded in reason and experience. Now all are interested about it, and many write for it: nay, such is the rage for it, that the English insist upon my leaving one of the presses, in order that they may publish a Frank newspaper here, for the islands, for England, and for America. Count Gamba is named as the editor: the articles will be in English, French, Italian, and German: the contributors, young men engaged in the cause. Lord Byron will contribute largely in both money and matter. The editor of the German Chronicle, with his usual liberality, has offered, for £80 a-year, to furnish 100 numbers weekly. He says he will publish it though it should be stuffed full of libels against himself. The presses that you sent out were deficient in many articles, which occasioned much anxiety and delay.

The following letters from the general government have just come to hand. [Vide Appendix, Nos. 18, 19, 20.]

The Suliots are calling upon Lord Byron for fresh contributions. There is no end to their exactions—none, till they are dismissed. All things considered, the cause of Greece is going on well. The progress of civilization is checked, but it cannot be prevented.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XXXIX.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 18th February, 1824.

My dear B.

CAPTAIN PARRY has made the following proposition to Prince Mavrocordato, which has been accepted. [Vide Appendix, No. 21.]

In addition to the sum required by Captain Parry, the Prince has granted 500 dollars for wood. The adoption of these measures will place Missolonghi, which is one of the keys to the Morea, in a state of defence. It will also be the means of forming a most useful corps.

Lord Byron was seized, on the 15th instant, with a severe fit. His Lordship was sitting in my room and jesting with Parry, but his eyes and his brow occasionally discovered that he was agitated by strong feelings. On a sudden he complained of a weakness in one of his legs: he rose, but finding himself unable to walk, called for assistance: he then fell into a violent nervous convulsion, and was placed upon my bed; during this period his face was much distorted: in a few minutes he began to recover his senses, his speech returned, and he was soon well, though exhausted with the struggle. His Piedmontese surgeon and Dr. Millingen both assured me that the fit, though of a dangerous character while it lasted, was not so in its consequences. During the fit his Lordship was as strong as a giant, and after it he behaved with his usual firmness. I conceive that this fit was occasioned by over-excitement. The mind of Byron is like a volcano, it is full of fire, wealth, and combustibles; and, when this matter comes to be

strongly agitated, the explosion is dreadful. With respect to the causes that produced this excess of feeling, they are beyond my reach, except one great cause, which was the provoking conduct of the Suliots. Lord Byron had acted towards them with a degree of generosity that could not be exceeded, and then, when his plans were all formed for the attack of Lepanto, and his hopes were raised on the delivery of Western Greece from the inroads of the Turks, these ungrateful soldiers demanded, and extorted, and refused to march till all was settled to gratify their avarice. This was enough to agitate any heart warm in the cause of Greece. Such events are, however, quite natural, and may and ought to be anticipated. The Suliots have since agreed to act agreeably to Lord Byron's pleasure. When you hear these statements do not hang your head. The cause advances. Every day the Greeks acquire knowledge and the Turks become more impotent. It requires more wisdom than falls to my share to tell you under what rule the Greeks will eventually fall, but of this I am certain—that they can never again be slaves.

Mavrocodato is of opinion that the Greeks are advancing in knowledge. At their first national assembly, he said, that not more than three or four members could express themselves with success; whereas, at the second meeting, there were thirty or forty that spoke with a fair share of intelligence. He expressed himself in favour of a federal government, but said that it was difficult to make the islands coalesce, each island aiming at pre-eminence. He also declared himself an admirer of the government of the United States. I think the speech of the president of that country and the Greek Chro-

nicle have given him this bias. At all events, he has considerably altered the tone of his conversation.

Twenty-four Turkish women and children have, through Lord Byron's instrumentality, been offered their freedom. Nine of them wished to remain, and the rest have been sent back to Prevesa.

A Turkish brig has run on shore near this place. The Bazar is empty, and all are gone to assist in capturing her.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XL.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 18th February, 1824.

My dear B.

A TURKISH brig, as I mentioned in my last, run on shore near Missolonghi, two days since. The people went in crowds to see her. Parry reconnoitred her, and used every exertion to get some guns down to bear upon her, but all of them were out of repair, and before he could arrive the Turks had set the brig in a flame. Another Turkish brig was blown up on the same day, at Lepanto. These, with the first loss at Ithaca, form a considerable reduction in their naval power in these parts.

An English frigate came in here yesterday, and demanded restitution of some vessel. When one recollects the extensive shore of Greece, the number of its sailors, and the character of its past government, one cannot be surprised at the Greeks taking hostile measures against neutrals who carry supplies to their enemies. A supply

of 200,000 dollars has been conveyed from Constantinople to Patras, by an Austrian brig.

Captain Sass was killed in a fray this morning, by a Suliot. The particulars of the affair are as follows: a Suliot, accompanied by Botzaris' little boy, and another man, walked into the Seraglio. The sentinel ordered him back, but he advanced. The sergeant of the guard, a German, said, What do you want here? and pushed him back. The Suliot said, What do I want? and struck the sergeant with his arm. They then closed, struggled, and the Suliot drew his pistol. The sergeant wrenched it from his hand, and blew the powder out of the pan. Captain Sass, seeing the fray, ordered the man to be taken to the guard-room. The Suliot would have departed, but the sergeant held him. Captain Sass drew his sabre, the Suliot his other pistol; Sass struck him with the flat of his sword. The Suliot then drew his sword, and nearly cut off his antagonist's left arm. He then shot him, with his second pistol, through the head, which deprived him of life almost immediately. The Suliot is distinguished for his bravery, and poor Sass was as mild as he was courageous.

This is a serious affair. The Suliots have no country, no home for their families; arrears of pay are owing to them; the people of Missolonghi hate and pay them exorbitantly. Lord Byron, who was to have led them to Lepanto, is much shaken by his fit, and will, probably, be obliged to retire from Greece. In short, all our hopes in this quarter are damped for the present. I am not a little fearful, too, that these wild warriors will not forget the blood that has been spilt. I this morning told Prince Mavrocordato and Lord Byron that they must come to

some resolution about compelling the Suliots to quit the place. Both are convinced of the necessity of that measure.

19th February. This morning Captain Sass was buried. The priests and primates attended at the Seraglio, and the procession moved off from thence through the town. Nothing could exceed the respect shown to the deceased; the shops were all shut, the whole population were drawn out, and crossed themselves as the corpse passed: the ceremony in the church was long, and resembled that observed in catholic countries.

In consequence of the foregoing and other events, the workmen in the laboratory have refused to stop here. I must plainly state to you, that while the Suliots remain, the persons of Europeans are not safe in Missolonghi. Parry, Hodges, and Gill, will, however, remain, and they, with the assistance of the natives, can perform all the work required of them by the committee.

I have been instrumental in establishing a polyglot newspaper, called the Greek Telegraph. The prospectus will be sent to you immediately. Pray endeavour to procure 100 subscriptions to it, at 6 dollars per annum each; relying on your so doing, 100 newspapers will be sent to you weekly.

I have solicited many persons to correspond with the committee. The letters and newspapers will be addressed to members. I depart for Cranidi and Athens to-morrow.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XLI.

TO THE SAME.

Missolonghi, 21st February, 1824.

My dear B.

I THIS morning left Missolonghi for Cranidi, the seat of the general government. You will, perhaps, blame my having remained nearly three months at the metropolis of Western Greece. In my defence, I have only to refer you to the state of affairs in this country, and to what has been actually effected at Missolonghi.

The committee will be much annoyed at the intelligence received concerning the laboratory. My former letters will have informed you of the difficulty experienced in selecting a place for this establishment. Missolonghi is by no means a favourable position for it; still, in the opinion of the most enlightened men that I could consult, it was preferred to Athens, to Spetzia, to Milo, to Corinth, in short, to all other places. The laboratory establishment was, therefore, brought to Missolonghi. I must hold myself responsible to the committee for the measure. During the first two months that I was at Missolonghi, all went well; but, latterly, our tranquillity has been disturbed by the Suliots, and by the emissaries of a faction in the Morea. An attack was made by some Suliots on the house of a burgher, in which some men were killed and some were wounded. Lieut. Sass was killed by a Suliot. We were more than once obliged to place our house and the Seraglio in a state of defence; and some of us were shot at, and one of the workmen of the laboratory struck down with a sabre. The result has been, that six of the mechanics have resolved on returning home. I listened to their

complaints and their claims; I told them, that the Suliots would depart forthwith, and that all would then be quiet. They, however, doubted my authority; said that they had come out to labour peaceably,—that they would, however, risk all against the Turks, but that they did not come to Greece to be assassinated, and to leave their families destitute. I repeated that the Suliots were about to depart, but said, that if they were resolved to return home, they had a right to receive pay up to the day of their departure, and £10 each, promised to them by the committee, to defray the expense of their home passage, after the expiration of their service. For all these acts, I alone am responsible. With respect to the result, I am of opinion that the loss of six able mechanics is much to be regretted; still, as other workmen may be found to labour in their stead, the laboratory may be carried on most effectually, under the guidance of Parry, Gill, and Hodges. On my arrival at Cranidi, I shall be able to decide on such further measures, relative to the laboratory, as may be dictated by a complete knowledge of the state of affairs.

After the first day's march, I bivouacked in the tent of the Prefect of the district. This tent was made of branches, in the form of a bee-hive; in the centre we had a blazing fire, and the company, consisting of the Prefect, his secretary, some primates, Mr. Humphreys, myself, &c. formed a circle round it. The Prefect told me, that he had conferred with the garrison of Lepanto, and that they would give up the place, provided a sufficient force appeared before it, and the arrears of their pay, amounting to 25,000 dollars, were paid to them. I endeavoured to impress on the Prefect's mind, the importance of his situation. In the present state of Greece,

even a good government could do little more than keep up an active control on their servants. The constitution and the laws could be put in force by active and able men on the spot alone, and by their again keeping their underlings actively and usefully engaged.

On the 22d we climbed over the mountains, and reached the monastery, near Lepanto. We could obtain no horses till the 24th. On that morning, scouts were sent out to reconnoitre. We were fortunately detained five hours, or we should have fallen in with a party of twenty Turkish horse, who would have defeated us and taken our baggage. Perhaps the emissaries of a certain faction had apprised the enemy of the approach of the English agent.

On the 24th, we reached *Capitano* Scalza's mountainous abode. He was absent, and his secretary swaggered and advised us to proceed on to another residence belonging to his chief. We grumbled, moved on with our jaded horses, lost our way in the dark, dispersed in the forest, re-assembled, and, at length, arrived safe at our destination. Scalza was out, but a peasant treated us with all the hospitality his dirty hut could afford. He made us a blazing fire, chopped up a lamb, skewered it on a long piece of wood, and then roasted it to our satisfaction. The peasantry of Greece are good; the extortions and the lawless conduct of the Turks, their *Capitani* and Primates, have not corrupted them. Let the wise solve the problem.

We reached the house of *Papa* Georgio on the 25th. We had no letter for him and he no hospitality for us, till I showed him a letter from Mavrocordato to the president of the executive body. His door was then open to us, and he treated us most kindly. *Papa G.* is

a shrewd, uneducated, patriotic old priest. He has a son in the senate. From him and from the couriers, who rest at his house, he learns all that passes. I could discover no bigotry in his character; on the contrary, he was surrounded by Turks, whom he had saved and treated well. I gave him a modern Greek Bible, and some newspapers. He seemed to prefer the latter.

On the 26th, we reached the port of Trazonia. The wind was contrary. We took up our abode in a cavern closed in with branches, and thought it comfortable. On the 27th, we resolved on proceeding to Corinth. The captain of the boat and the wind were contrary and obstinately against us. They triumphed, and took us to Vostitza. The *Capitano* Londos was absent, but his adjutant, his commissary, and his secretary treated us hospitably.

The people here have still more of the Asiatic character than those of Western Greece. They are for a limited monarchy. I tell them that the government that gave them a king would, in fact, be their rulers: that limited monarchy would soon degenerate into absolute rule: that the people should be their own sovereigns; and that the only nations that are contented with their governments are Switzerland and America. I tell them that, as I was born under the best mixed government, I would endeavour to maintain that order of things; but that it would be madness in the Greeks to accept any, but especially a foreign, king. I never fail to impress on the minds of the Greeks the necessity of publicity in the proceedings of their parliaments and their courts of justice; but, most of all, in giving free vent to the expression of the people's thoughts.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER XLII.

TO LORD BYRON.*

Athens, 6th March, 1824.

My dear Lord Byron,

ON the 21st February I bivouacked in the tent of the Perfect of the Lepanto district. He had just had a conference with the garrison of that place, and said that if your Lordship appeared there with a considerable force, and the arrears due to the troops, amounting to 25,000 dollars, could be paid, the fortress would be surrendered. Most anxiously do I hope your Lordship will proceed thither, terminate the negotiation, and take possession of the place. This conquest would almost secure the independence of Greece, and would shorten her struggle, perhaps, by many years.†

A short distance from the Monastery, we learned, from a scout previously despatched by me, that a party of Turkish horse had been waylaying us, but had departed. Had we not been detained for five hours, we should have, probably, fallen into their hands.

We disembarked, during a gale of wind, on a rocky shore near Corinth. I was the last to leave the ship, and on my landing was told that Colocotroni's troops had chased the constitutionalists from that fortress. I resolved on passing the Isthmus, at night, through the

* The notes to this letter were added by Lord Byron, previously to forwarding it to the Committee.—Ed.

† “The Suliots declined marching against Lepanto, saying, ‘that they would not fight against stone-walls.’ Colonel Stanhope also knows their conduct here in other respects lately.—N. B.”

outposts of the constitutionalists, who now blockaded the place, and safely reached the opposite shore. Thence we embarked that very night, sailed the next morning, and heard, during the whole of that day, a cannonade from Corinth.

I am delighted with Athens; with its atmosphere; its beautiful situation; its antiquities; its general; and its enfranchised people.

Yesterday, a public meeting took place, for the purpose of choosing three persons to serve as magistrates for Athens. The persons were named; their respective merits were canvassed, and they were then balloted for, and chosen by universal suffrage. This day, another meeting took place, for the purpose of choosing three judges. I attended the assembly held in the square opposite the port. Odysseus, with others, was seated on the hustings. Opposite stands an old tree, surrounded with a broad seat, from which the magistrates addressed the people, explained the objects for which they were assembled, and desired them to name their judges. A free debate then took place, it lasted long, became more and more animated, and, at last, much difference of opinion existing, a ballot was demanded, and the judges were chosen.

I have been constantly with Odysseus. He has a very strong mind, a good heart, and is brave as his sword; he is a doing man; he governs with a strong arm, and is the only man in Greece that can preserve order. He puts, however, complete confidence in the people. He is for a strong government, for constitutional rights, and for vigorous efforts against the enemy. He professes himself of no faction, neither of Ipsilanti's, nor of Colocotroni's, nor of Mavrocordato's; neither of the Primates, nor of the

Capitani, nor of the foreign king faction. He speaks of them all in the most undisguised manner. He likes good foreigners, is friendly to a small body of foreign troops, and courts instruction. He has established two schools here, and has allowed me to set the press at work.* He complains that the press of Missolonghi does not insert articles that do not suit the politics of the editor. He wishes every intelligent Greek in Europe to proceed to Greece: and wrote to Coray and others, a year back, to come to this country, to aid in the formation of their government, their laws, &c. These letters were not forwarded, owing to the dissensions which then reigned, but he will now despatch them, at my request. He thinks Bambas a most efficient patriot, and has agreed to address him, and to solicit his presence in Greece. In short, considering his education, his pursuits, and the society by which he has been surrounded, he is a most *extraordinary man*.

Odysseus is most anxious to unite the interests of Eastern and Western Greece, for which purpose he is desirous of immediately forming a congress at Salona. He solicits your Lordship's and Mavrocordato's presence, with two or three other persons, should you deem their attendance necessary. To further this object Captain Humphreys will hasten to Missolonghi. In six days he will be with you; and, if you can come to a resolution in two days, he may be back here in a fortnight. At six o'clock to-morrow, Odysseus proceeds to Negro-

* " I hope that the press will succeed better there than it has here. The Greek newspaper has done great mischief both in the Morea and in the islands, as I represented both to Prince Mavrocordato and to Colonel Stanhope that it would do in the *present* circumstances, unless *great caution* was observed.—N. B."

ponte; and two days after the receipt of your Lordship's and Mavrocordato's answer, he will be at Salona, provided you come to the same resolution and act with the same celerity that he does. In the event of the proposed meeting he will bring with him Pannuria, the prefects of Thebes, Livadia, and Athens; Captain Trelawny, and myself. I implore your Lordship and the president, as you love Greece and her sacred cause, to attend at Salona. Should you be ill or feeble, which God forbid, we solicit Count Gamba's presence. All delays, even that of a day, will, in the opinion of Odysseus, be injurious, as the Turks will be in motion immediately. Excuse great haste, and believe me

Yours, &c.

L. S.

P.S. Pray return this letter to Captain Humphreys, to forward to Mr. Barff, at Zante, who will forward it to England.

L. S.*

* The following was written by Lord Byron on the back of the letter.

" To J. Bowring, Esq.

" March 19, 1824.

" Dear Sir,

" Preparations are making for the ensuing campaign. Col. S. and Capt. Parry's reports will have instructed the Committee. Means and money will be required; men are in plenty, if we have the former. I shall endeavour to do my duty.

" Yours,

" N. B.

" P.S. Prince Mavrocordato and L. B. go to Salona. I (L. B.) request Mr. Bowring to urge the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird to send L. B. credits to the extent of L. B.'s resources. Here there are the greatest difficulties of every kind for the moment—but they have hope—and will fight it out.—N. B."

LETTER XLIII.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, 8th March, 1824.

My dear Lord Byron,

GENERAL ODYSSEUS is most anxious to procure a firemaster and some stores from the laboratory at Missolonghi.

I strongly recommend your Lordship to send either Mr. Parry, Mr. Gill, or Mr. Hodges here immediately. I should also wish Captains Quæst or Kinderman to proceed hither. Odysseus solicits three barrels of powder and some lead to be sent here forthwith by sea; also, four guns, some canister and other shot. Whatever other articles can be sent will be most thankfully received and usefully employed. The most perfect order and tranquillity have reigned here for a long time past. Should, therefore, our English mechanics not have departed, I think it most desirable that they should forthwith proceed to Athens.

Mr. Trelawny has written to Captain Clifford, relative to a most unfortunate affair that has occurred here lately. [Vide Appendix, No. 21.] Lord J. Churchill invited Odysseus and Goorha to dine on board his ship. He treated them sumptuously; and, after dinner, by way of sport, got the vessel under weigh. The Greeks thought themselves betrayed; Goorha cut the tiller ropes and halliards, and all jumped into the boats. I expressed to Odysseus my deep regret at this event, and assured him that the people of England would condemn it; and that if it should, unfortunately, reach the

ears of the government, not even the great name of the English Captain, which was celebrated in our annals as his would be in those of Greece, would prevent his being dismissed the service. The general offered immediately to write to the commodore, to represent the matter favourably, and to solicit him to take no further notice of it.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XLIV.

TO M. NEOFITO BAMBAS, AT CEFALONIA.

Athens, 8th March, 1824.

My dear Sir,

ONE feeling pervades every patriotic bosom in Greece, it is, that you should be, in your country, using all the influence of your powerful mind towards her deliverance from the Turk, and towards the establishment of her liberties. It is on this ground, solely, that I venture to join my voice to that of Coreia, of General Odysseus, and to those of all the statesmen, and soldiers, and people of Greece, in soliciting your presence in your native land. Should you attend to our general call, I know of no manner in which you could be so usefully employed, as in conducting a free press at the seat of the Greek government. I therefore invite you to undertake that duty, and offer to subscribe fifty pounds towards the undertaking. Pray honour me with an answer to the present, and address me at the seat of the

Greek government. Send your answer by some safe conveyance, as most of our letters miscarry.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XLV.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Athens, 9th March, 1824.

My dear B.

ODYSSEUS, at my request, has ordered an ancient temple to be converted into a Museum. The Turkish prisoners will be employed in collecting the antiquities; Dr. Psylas is named the director. The people will be assembled and addressed on the subject.

The enclosed letter to the excellent Coray is forwarded at my request. Pray send it to him: the disturbances that prevailed in Greece have prevented its earlier transmission. I have ordered it to be published in the Greek Chronicle and in the Greek Telegraph.

Eastern and Western Greece, and the islands, are all subordinate to their respective governments. The Morea is alone disturbed. The Servians have sent some deputies to Constantinople to represent their claims, who have been beheaded; and it is expected that this monstrous act will occasion a revolt in that province. Odysseus departs at eight this morning, for Negroponte. He will afterwards attend the congress at Salona.

Captain Humphreys starts immediately for Missolonghi. He is the bearer of the General's and my des-

patches; the object of which is to persuade Mavrocordato and Lord Byron to meet Odysseus and others in congress at Salona, for the purpose of producing co-operation between Eastern and Western Greece. The constitution will then be put in force, and the armies will act in concert. The ruling party in the Morea will find a preponderating interest established, that will force on them, also, good government.

Yours, in a hurry,

L. S.

LETTER XLVI.

TO DR. BOJONS, AT NAPOLI DI ROMANIA.

Athens den 25 Februar, 1824.
8 März,

Lieber Herr Bojons,

DA ich in Erfahrung gebracht habe, dass in Morea Griechen gegen Griechen streiten, das Gouvernement selbst nicht einig und innerer Zwiespalt an die Tagesordnung ist, so habe ich meine Reise dahin geändert, das ich hierher und nicht wie ich früher bestimmte nach Napoli und Kranidi gegangen bin, weshalb ich Sie ergebenst ersuche, alle meine Ihnen übergebenen Effecten, so wie die Pressen und Medizinen die dem Englischen Volcke angehören, hierher zu schicken.

Sollte daselbst ein Britisches Kriegs-Schiff sein, so können sie dem Capitaine desselben diese Sachen über-

geben, welcher selbige ohnfehlbar an mich hierher besorgen wird.

Es war zwar früher meine Meinung die Pressen, da wo sich das Griechische Gouvernement aufhalte, zu placiren, jedoch aber nicht zum ausschlieslichen Gebrauch desselben, oder auch für eine einzelne Parthey, sondern für die Aufklärung und das Beste des gesammten Griechischen Volcks.

Bevor jedoch dasselbe kein bestimmtes und auf reellen Grundsätzen bestehendes Gouvernement hat, kann auch mit der Etablirung von Posten nicht vorgeschritten werden.

Sollten sie wegen der Fortschaffung meiner Effecten, der Pressen und Medicin hierher daselbst Beschwerlichkeiten vorfinden, so haben sie die Güte dem Herrn General Colocotroni meinen Respect zu versichern, und demselben in meinen Nahmen zu ersuchen, die etwa sich vorfindende Beschwerlichkeiten zu verhindern, da diese Sachen der Englischen Comité und Volcke angehören, deren Abgeordnete ich hier bin.

Sollte Herr Lieut. Dobryez lust bezeigen als secretaire bei mir zu sein, so ersuche ich sie demselben gefälligst zu engagiren, und, wenn es angeht, sogleich mit den sachen hierher zu senden. Die Bedingungen sind Ihnen bekannt.

Mit der Ihnen bekannten Hochachtung nenne ich mich als,

Ihr ergebenster Diener,

L. S.

Nachschrift.—Wenn sie zur Gestaltung eines Hospitals in Napoli di Romania, wovon wir gesprochen haben,

und unter den Ihnen bekannten Bedingungen übernehmen wollen, so können sie einen Drittheil der Medizin dasselbst behalten, und dieses sodann öffentlich bekannt machen.

L. S.*

* TRANSLATION.

To Dr. Bojons, at Napoli di Romania.

Athens, 25th February, 1824.
8th March,

Dear Sir,

Since I have learned that, in the Morea, Greeks are contending against Greeks, and that the government itself is disunited and a prey to internal dissensions, I have altered the direction of my journey, and have come hither, instead of proceeding, as I had formerly intended, to Napoli and Cranidi. I therefore earnestly request you to send hither all my effects consigned to you, together with the presses and medicines belonging to the English people.

Should there be a British ship of war at Napoli, you can consign these things to the care of its captain, who will not fail himself to take charge of them for me to this place.

It was, indeed, formerly my intention to have placed the presses at the seat of the Greek government, not, however, for its exclusive use, or for that of any faction, but for the purpose of enlightening the minds and improving the condition of the entire people of Greece. But, while the government is conducted upon no fixed or determinate principles, it is impossible to proceed with the establishment of a post.

Should you encounter any difficulties in the transmission of my effects, the presses and medicines, have the goodness to give my respects to General Colocotroni, and to request him, in my name, to obviate those difficulties, as the things belong to the English committee and people, whose agent in Greece I am.

LETTER XLVII.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Athens, 11th March, 1824.

My dear Bowring,

ATHENS has for me every charm—Her recollections, her climate, her ruins, and her reviving liberties. The Chief Odysseus has been a mountain robber, has never bowed in bondage to the Turks, has served under Ali Pacha, has been chosen Governor of Eastern Greece, has refused to give up Athens to a weak government, and has lately sympathised with the people, and taken the liberal course in politics. He is a brave soldier, has great power, and promotes public liberty. Just such a man Greece requires.

The congress at Salona will do great good. Eastern and Western Greece, and the islands, will unite to put the constitution in force, to get the revenues placed in

Should Lieut. Dobryez testify a desire of becoming my secretary, I beg of you to engage him, and, if possible, to despatch him immediately, with the things, to this place. You know the terms.

I remain, with sentiments of esteem,

Your humble servant,

L. S.

P. S.—If you are willing to undertake the establishment of an hospital in Napoli di Romania, of which we spoke, and on the conditions with which you are acquainted, you can retain a third part of the medicines and make the circumstance publicly known.

L. S.

the public coffers, and to promote military co-operation. Many of the chiefs of the Morea, together with the legislative body, and the great mass of the people, will approve these measures, and their combined interests will form such a preponderating power, that all the little factions will be forced to follow the strong current. I shall counsel Odysseus to get some able writer to accompany him to the congress, for the purpose of publishing its proceedings and proclamations. To this end, too, I shall hope to be able to carry with me a lithographic press.

I sent a printing and a lithographic press, together with some medicines, &c. under charge of Dr. Bojons, a German physician, from Missolonghi, to the seat of the Greek government. Stress of weather obliged the ship to put into Napoli, where the articles were seized. I have written to Dr. B. on the subject; and several men of influence, finding that I belong to no faction, and only came here to serve the Greek people, have also written to Colocotroni, and others, to have the articles restored. If I fail, blame not me, but blame the tempest for having blown away with your goods and given them to the enemy. I am making arrangements for the establishment of a press at Athens. I have engaged Professor Psylas to write for it, and have written to Hydra for a printer. The "*Free Press of Athens*" will have the following motto, "Publicity is the Soul of Justice."

The government of the Morea has been of late much disturbed. The legislative body annihilated the executive, of which Petrobey was the head, and set up another in its stead. After a time the old executive

reassembled at Tripolitza and seized on Corinth. They have lately named Ipsilanti as the President, and have collected thirty-five members of the legislative body, who are acting with them. Petrobey told the Austrian Consul that he was ready in all things to follow the wishes of the Holy Alliance. Ipsilanti is nominally of the democratic party, and so is Colocotroni. The Ipsilanti government have proclaimed their intention of holding a general assembly in April next.

The Museum will be established in the Temple of Minerva. This building has been used as a mosque, as a church, as a granary, and will now be devoted to the arts.

The police of Athens, and the surrounding country, is so good, that we wander about in perfect security. Even our fair countrywomen might travel and settle here with less risk than they run in going to and residing at Naples.

A fine church has been fitted up as a Lancasterian school, and will be opened in a few days. We solicit for it the aid of the Quakers and the Committee. I shall endeavour to form here a utilitarian society, for the purpose of establishing and fostering all useful measures.

Captain Hastings is eager to have a steam-vessel. He will subscribe £1,000 towards it. If he had one capable of carrying even one thirty-two pounder, with a stove for heating red-hot shot, he thinks he could baffle the efforts of the Turkish fleet. He could raise, for instance, the blockade of Negroponte, Caristo, Lepanto, and Patras. The Greek government would pay the men, and furnish a vessel to carry the fuel. Perhaps

you could get persons to take up a vessel of this description as a privateer. The chances of gain would be considerable in the capture of men-of-war and fortresses, because the Turks would rather surrender to ships than to land-forces. Capt. H. will submit his plan to the Greek government, and then proceed home to further its accomplishment. The steam-apparatus is so low in the water, and so small an object, that it would be all but secure against the ill-directed efforts of Turkish artillerymen.

Half the day here is spent in conversation. My practice is to engraft English and Anglo-American principles on the minds of my visitors. The better to effect this object I give warm praise wherever praise is due, and always endeavour to avoid giving offence. I feel for and speak about Greece as if it were my country; and by a bold and open course baffle all cunning, and intrigue, and diplomacy.

All the fortresses in Candia, except Kissamos, are in the hands of the Turks. The people have been divided into factions, but they are now united.

The elective franchise is exercised in its widest range at Athens. I have attended at the elections of the prefects and of the judges, and also at a meeting for deciding on some proposed taxes. A tax on those who possessed government-houses, and one on cattle, were voted; a tax on produce was rejected. The suffrage is universal; the elections annual.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER XLVIII.

TO SIGNOR PAPPAS, AT HYDRA.

Attene, il 11 Marzo, 1824.

Caro Signore,

Ho l'onore di mandarvi una lettera dal Signor Humphries, chi è andato con plichi di lettere bisognevoli dà quì in Missolonghi. Il Signor Humphries vi parla per il carattere di Attene e del suo Governatore Odyssea. Con ragione lode ambidue, per il suo governatore percio che egli è potente, bravo, amante della libertà, è il più grande nemico dei partiti. Nel governo regna la più grande tranquillità, e la più perfetta sicurezza. Mà la più bisognevole cosa è che il popolo gode di tutti i suoi dritti. Io parlo così pereiochè conosco dal Comitato Greco d' Inghilterra che voi siete il più vero patrioto, e che voi avete acquistato molti mezzi. Io vi consiglio che veniate a qui per eseguire la bona causa della patria. Noi abbiamo grande bisogno d' un stampatore, e se si trovi in Idra farebbe bene di venire a quì.

L. S.*

* TRANSLATION.

To Signor Pappas, at Hydra.

Athens, March 11, 1824.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit you a letter from Mr. Humphries, who is gone with a packet of important letters from hence to Missolonghi. Mr. Humphries speaks favourably to you of the character of Athens, and of its Governor, Odysseus, and justly praises them both. With respect to the Governor, he is powerful,

LETTER XLIX.

TO GENERAL ODYSSEUS.

Athens, 15th March, 1824.

Dear General Odysseus,

I HAVE written to Anastatius Pappas, a rich patriot, at Hydra, and to General Borrel, a clever and efficient Frenchman, to proceed to Athens, and to devote their means to your service.

We daily expect Mr. Finlay to return from Missolonghi. There can be no doubt that the authorities in Western Greece will hail your proposition for a congress at Salona, for the purpose of co-operating with Eastern Greece and the islands. I anticipate great results from this meeting. I know that you belong to no faction; neither to the foreign king, the Ipsilanti, the Mavrocordato, the Petrobey, nor the Colocotroni faction. What you wish to promote is the constitution, the laws, the security of person and property, and the liberties of the Greeks; and to drive from their soil the

brave, a lover of liberty, and a decided enemy of faction. The greatest tranquillity and the most perfect security reigns in the government. But the most important circumstance is, that the people are in full possession of all their rights.

I speak to you in these terms, because I know, from the Greek Committee in England, that you are a true patriot, and possessed of abundant means. I advise you to come hither to further the good cause of your country. We are in great want of a printer, and if there is one in Hydra, he would do well to come hither.

Yours, &c.

L. S.

Turks. Persevere in this noble course and you will be hailed by all good citizens as the saviour of your country. Good government is the only safe course, it leads to power and to fame. Bad government also leads to power—power accompanied by extortion, poverty, insurrection, and blood, and followed by the curses of mankind. At the ensuing congress, I expect to see Odysseus taking the lead in every thing that is just, and proclaiming his sentiments loudly to his country and to the world.

The first object of the congress should be to ensure co-operation between Eastern and Western Greece and the islands: the second should be to obtain money for the purposes of the state, by persuading all the chiefs to deposit the revenues of their districts in the public coffers: the third should be to concert military operations. The capture of Lepanto might be effected for the small sum of 20,000 dollars. The passes of Thermopylæ might be secured by four or five Martello Towers and 100 men. And Negroponte and Karisto, if assailed by sea with three or four gun-boats, and by land by your valiant soldiers, must soon fall. The fourth and grand object should be to put the laws and the constitution in force. To this end, good proclamations should be published; declaiming against disunion, faction, extortion, intrigue, and the neglect of all military exertion; and recommending well-concerted measures, the enforcement of a strong police and good laws, the appointment of able prefects, judges, &c. These proclamations should be dictated by yourself, and some very able and eloquent writer should accompany you to the meeting. I will endeavour to take thither a litho-

graphic press, to publish and to spread your noble thoughts.

It is devoutly to be wished that all the other chiefs engaged at the congress should co-operate in these measures; but if they have not the virtue to act thus nobly, I am convinced that your strong mind will take its own bold course—a course that must lead to the downfall of the Turks, to the permanent establishment of the liberties of Greece, and of your power and fame. I am sorry to find in every quarter some men, and even some good men, in favour of a foreign king. They say “a limited monarch would give us security and freedom.” As for a limited monarch, that could not be. A king that could put down this armed and martial people must have unlimited power—must be a tyrant. The first thing that such a monster would do, would be to establish a disciplined force, and the next would be to crush those warriors and heroes who had rescued their country from the Turks. How avoid these evils? I know of no safe course but that of establishing a strong and just government. All extortion—all extravagance lead to poverty, to tumult, and to assassinations. If there be any Greek with a vast mind, and possessing great power, who has the nobleness of soul to pursue the public good, that man will soar above all his contemporaries: he will save his country from Turks and faction, and entail on millions for ages to come the blessings of liberty.

I am, your friend,

L. S.

LETTER L.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, March 16, 1824.

Dear General Odysseus,

I AM desirous of obtaining your sanction to the formation of a utilitarian society in Athens. I propose to select its members from the most virtuous and able of her citizens. The end proposed is the formation of schools, museums, dispensaries, agricultural and horticultural societies—in short, of all establishments connected with the advancement of useful knowledge. When this utilitarian society is formed I shall endeavour to promote similar institutions at Napoli, Tripolitza, and Missolonghi, and to put them in communication with all those societies which profess the same principles in other quarters of the world.

In consequence of the enlightened sentiments which you have expressed to me in favour of a free press, I have written to Napoli to have a press sent to Athens. I have also offered Professor Psylas £50 a-year to conduct and write for it. Your noble conduct towards the Athenians, in promoting public meetings, proves that you consider publicity as the soul of justice. It should prevail in the senate, in the courts of law, and, above all, in spreading the people's thoughts. The examples of England, of America, and of Switzerland prove its efficacy in promoting order, virtue, and good government; and those of South America and of India show how safe and how useful a free press is in countries which have been doomed to ages of despotism, and

which, like Greece, are beginning to revive from faintness and from pain, by breathing the fresh air of liberty. Follow, I implore you, the example of America, where every public man's conduct is open to free discussion, and where peace and order ever prevail. Act well, and you have nothing to fear from a thousand pens, though they were dipped in gall and directed by the hands of your enemies. Act well, and you will have reason and justice, and the hearts, and the minds, and the arms of the Greeks with you—friends that are invincible.

I am, your friend,

L. S.

[Vide Appendix, No. 22.]

LETTER LI.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Athens, March 20, 1824.

My dear B.

THE press of Athens is not yet in operation. The Committee's press and my lithographic one are in the custody of Colocotroni, at Napoli, which is blockaded by land and sea, by order of the general government. We have here, however, a rude press, which was made by a clever engineer, and some few types, which belonged to the press at Corinth. There is in Athens a Dr. Sophianópulo, a clever man, who is one of the party of Ipsilanti and Colocotroni, and is secretary to the commandant of the fortress—Góorha. The Doctor wishes to have an influence over the press. He objects to Professor Psylas being the sole editor, and recommends

himself and another to co-operate with him. He has written a sort of *avant-prospectus*, by way, as he says, of trying the press, and he is now writing another. I shall take my own course. At a public meeting I shall present the press to the people of Athens; shall nominate Psylas to edit it till the arrival of Theocletos, an able and virtuous patriot; I shall then submit a prospectus for the approval of the Philo-Muse Society. The object of this prefatory production will be to lay down a chart by which the editor may steer his course.

Instead of a utilitarian society, which I proposed, the Athenians have resolved to reorganize the Philo-Muse Society, and to make it embrace all the objects I had in contemplation. I was called before this society yesterday, explained my opinions to them, and promised to address them farther on the subject.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LII.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PHILO-MUSE SOCIETY,
AT ATHENS.

Athens, March 20th, 1824.

Sir,

THE Philo-Muse Society, of Athens, should, I think, publish a letter to the following effect:

“ Sir,—The Philo-Muse Society, of Athens, the
“ duties of which have been, in some measure, sus-
“ pended, on account of the war, has now resumed its

“ active functions. This society has no political character; its sole object is to preserve the records and antiquities, and to advance the knowledge and improve the condition, of the Greeks. The Philo-Muse Society has converted a building in the Temple of Minerva into a museum; it has formed a school for the cheap acquirement of the ancient Greek and of the classics, and also a Lancasterian school. The society intends to enlarge its library and to throw it open to the public.

“ The better to promote the purposes of this institution, the Athenians invite all the principal towns in Greece to establish branch-societies. They most anxiously desire to be in correspondence with, and to be aided by, all useful societies in every part of the world. From all quarters they solicit information concerning education, the fine arts, legislation, political economy, agriculture, horticulture, commerce, mechanics, and public institutions. Books, especially elementary ones, on useful subjects, in French, Italian, German, or modern Greek, will be thankfully received.

“ From all the friends of Greece, the Philo-Muse Society requests subscriptions. It begs of all such to address it, either through its secretary at Athens, or through the Greek committees. The Society will give every publicity to its measures and to its accounts.

“ I am,

“ Yours, &c.

“ _____

“ Secretary to the P. M. S. at Athens.”

“ To the Editor of the _____

After this statement has been circulated here, it should I think be forwarded to all the Greek committees, for publication in the papers in various parts of the world. This task I undertake to perform.

I request of the Philo-Muse Society to honour me with its commands, and to give me a statement of all its wants previously to my departure from Athens. [Vide Appendix, No. 23.]

I am, yours,

L. S.

LETTER LIII.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Athens, March 21st, 1824.

My dear B.

NOTHING would prove so serviceable to our cause as the emigration of English and others to Greece. To promote this object, I wish you to publish the following statement, on the accuracy of which you may rely.

Average price of Lands and Provisions at Athens.

Land should give a profit of from 10 per cent. to the purchaser. The land-tax amounts to 10 per cent. of the produce yearly.

A good house costs, yearly, from 500 to 700 piastres.—A riding horse, from 150 to 200 piastres.—An ox, 150 piastres.—A cow, 100 piastres.—A sheep, 10 piastres.—A goat, 8 piastres.—A man labourer, per diem, 60 paras=7½d.—A woman, 40 paras=5d.—A

boy, 20 paras=2½d.—A man servant, with food and clothing, per month, 20 piastres.—A maid servant, ditto.—Wheat, per oke, 12 paras.—Bread, per oke, 10 paras.—Barley, per oke, 12 paras.—Oats, 6 paras.—A horse load of wood, 20 paras.—Mutton, per oke, from 30 to 40 paras.—Goat, per oke, 25 to 30 paras.—Beef, from 20 to 26 paras, per oke.—A turkey, 6 piastres.—A goose, 4 piastres.—A duck, 2 piastres.—A chicken, 50 paras.—A partridge, 30 paras.—A woodcock, 25 paras.—A hare, 47 paras.—Butter, per oke, from 3 to 5 piastres.—Sugar, per oke, 6 piastres.—Honey, from 60 to 70 paras.—Wine, per oke, from 12 to 18 paras.—Milk, 18 paras, per oke.—Oil, per oke, 60 paras.—Rum, per bottle, 100 paras.—Raki, per oke, 2 piastres.—Rice, from 26 to 40 paras, per oke.—New cheese, without salt, 20 paras, per oke.—Old cheese, without salt, 40 paras, per oke.—Eggs, per 100, 6 piastres.—Salt, 6 paras, per oke.

N.B.—An oke is equal to 2½ pounds French. A piastre is equal to 5 pence; 40 paras make a piastre, and 10 piastres, 1 dollar.

Greece is split into factions, which are enrolled into two great parties. The one consists of Mavrocordato, the islands, a large portion of the legislative body, of the Primates, and of the people. The other consists of Ipsilanti, Petrobey, Colocotroni, and the principal part of the soldiery, &c. Odysseus professes neutrality, but leans to the latter party. Mavrocordato is a good man, but cannot go straight. He is, secretly, for a mild *monarchy*—a thing as easy to be obtained in Greece as a mild *tigerarchy*. His followers mean

differently, but mean well. Ipsilanti is, in mind and body, a slug, but still has shown more public virtue than any other man in Greece. His party are for military predominance and democracy. In short, the revolution has clubbed the Greeks. Still, I have no doubt that order will be restored, and that strength and liberty will be the result.

Yours,

L. S.

P.S.—I hope to reach England in June next. The Cranidi government have sent two ships to Napoli, to demand the surrender of the fortress into their hands. Mahomed Ali, Pacha of Egypt, will, it is said, command the Turkish armies and fleet destined to attack the Greeks. He will, probably, transfer this duty to Gibraltar, his general.

L. S.

LETTER LIV.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, 24th March, 1824.

My dear B.

THE preparations which the Turks are making for hostilities will no doubt be communicated from Smyrna, in the true oriental style. We hear that wonderful efforts are to be made; that the Greek fleets are to be attacked, and the islands assailed and devastated; that the Turkish fortresses are to be provisioned; and that from them columns are to issue forth, which are

to annihilate the Greeks. My only fear, however, is for the islands, and especially for Candia: As for Mahomed Ali, he will look only to his own interest, and grasp as much as possible from Turks as well as Greeks. He will leave the conduct of the war to his general, Gibraltar. The Greeks should despatch 3000 men to occupy the five passes of Thermopylæ. This measure would secure Greece, but I fear that the dissensions in the Morea will prevent its being carried into effect. As soon as these passes are secured, Negropont, Karisto, and Lepanto, should be briskly attacked. We shall endeavour, through the medium of the press, to detach Mahomed Ali and the Albanians from the Turks. The Servians are much exasperated in consequence of the decapitation of six agents whom they had deputed to Constantinople, to represent their grievances to the Porte.

I sent Lieut. Klempe to Napoli, to obtain restitution of the presses, medicines, &c. detained there. He was stopped at Corinth by the government troops, his letters taken from him, and himself sent to Cranidi, where some of his letters were returned, and he was permitted to proceed to Napoli. On his arrival at that place, Pano told him that the articles were all safe, but that he must detain them till he received orders from the Tripolitza government. Lieut. Klempe has returned to Athens, and I have since despatched another messenger to Napoli. A newspaper, called "The Friend of the Law," is about to appear at Hydra. There is now a rage for newspapers.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LV.

TO GENERAL ODYSSEUS.

Athens, March 24th, 1824.

Dear General Odysseus,

IF it meet your approbation, I will proceed to Cranidi and Napoli. The objects which I have in view are, 1st, To promote reconciliation between the two parties, and to establish one firm and settled government in place of the existing anarchy. 2dly, To promote a general assembly of the people. And, 3dly, To persuade the government to take 3000 Greeks into pay and send them under you, Goorha, or Niketas, to defend the passes of Thermopylæ. Honour me with your candid opinion and advice on these matters.

Neither Mr. Finlay nor Captain Humphreys have yet arrived from Missolonghi. If the congress takes place, I hope you will there proclaim your good intentions, and act up to them. If it does not take place, those who have thwarted it are responsible to their country for the consequences of their conduct.

I am your friend,

L. S.

LETTER LVI.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, 28th March, 1824.

Dear General Odysseus,

THE Greeks are fighting for their indepen-

dence and their liberties. They have not only to drive the Turks from their soil, but they have also to prevent the restoration of Turkish principles of government—of despotism. To this end a constitutional force is necessary. Whether this force should consist of disciplined or irregular troops is the question you have desired me to answer.

Experience has demonstrated, that, in spite of the paralyzing effects of tyranny, the Greeks are still Greeks. Their martial peasantry have started from their chains, have taken fortresses that had been deemed almost impregnable, and have, in one campaign, destroyed 100,000 Turks. These are the men who have triumphed over the Ottoman empire.

Experience has also demonstrated, that a nation which trusts her defence to foreign mercenaries, puts her freedom in the most imminent peril. Commonwealths ought, therefore, in such circumstances, to follow the example set by England, in the time of William III. That monarch owed his throne to a revolution produced by the people. The crown had gone out of its regular succession; disaffection prevailed, Ireland was in arms, Scotland had not renounced allegiance to James, and the Protestant cause was threatened by a hostile coalition. Still, such was the high and stern spirit of the times, that the Parliament refused to allow a small body of William's valiant Dutch guards to remain in England. The king remonstrated and reasoned, and again and again implored the Parliament to retain these dear partners of his fame. They listened to their Sovereign with courtesy, but sent back his guards to Holland.

Never let the Greeks tolerate a standing army, or

foreign troops, except as instructors of discipline or military science. The principles of a mercenary army are directly opposed to those of freedom, and their interests are at variance with their duties. Rather let the Greeks follow the example of the best confederate commonwealths,—say Switzerland. Her army consists of 60,000 men, of from twenty to thirty years of age. Her military schools, her staff, artillery, engineers, infantry, and sharp-shooters are all admirable. Her cavalry is the only defective arm. Every branch of her service is assembled and exercised for one month in the year, and the whole force is ready to march at twenty-four hours' notice. It is evident, that a militia of this description cannot be equal, on their first taking the field, to a more exercised army. The Swiss, however, like the Greeks, having a strong country to guard, can act on the defensive, till they become *aguerried*. This constitutional force costs Switzerland about £60,000 yearly.

It may be said, that the Greeks, though excellent partizans, are unequal to cope with disciplined soldiers in the field, or to undertake sieges. What then is to be done? Are the Greeks to endanger their liberties by employing a standing army, or their independence by not employing one? Neither. They should have a mixed force, consisting of irregulars and a militia. The modern history of the Greeks shows the strength of their irregular troops and armed peasantry. They are like a hive of bees, that, being disturbed in their productive labours, will drive an elephant mad and make him court destruction.* The annals of their ancestors and of

* If an elephant strikes a branch in which there is a hive, the

their phalanxes have taught the whole world the power of co-operation in war. The Greeks should, therefore, instil a martial spirit into their people, and should have their youth instructed at their schools in military discipline. A portion of the Greeks should be exercised like the Swiss armies; a portion of them should remain as at present; and the whole nation should be, at all times, armed, ready to protect their property, their persons, their liberties, and their country.

I am your friend,

L. S.

LETTER LVII.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Athens, 30th March, 1824.

My dear B.

YOUR letters of the 18th November and 15th January last, with the minute of the Committee, recommending reconciliation to the Greek government, came safe to my hands yesterday evening. It is my duty to act upon them immediately. To the heads of the various parties in the state I shall, therefore, address the following letters, with copies of the Committee's despatch, which will afterwards be published.

bees settle on him and he runs madly on to destruction. So the Turks, beset by the Greeks, allow their heads to be struck off without an effort.

TO M. IPSILANTI.

Athens, 30th March, 1824.

Excellent Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward to you the copy of a minute just received from the Greek Committee of Great Britain, by which you will perceive that its members and that all England deplore the disunion which prevails in Greece. I address myself to you on this subject, because you have great influence with your countrymen, and because you first asserted, and have ever since nobly maintained, not only the independence, but the liberties of the Greeks. Continue, I implore you, this magnanimous conduct, and the love of your country and of all mankind will be the sweet reward.

I am your friend,

L. S.

TO PRESIDENT MAVROCORDATO.

Athens, 30th March, 1824.

Excellent Sir,

I BEG of you to publish the accompanying minute from the London Committee, recommending reconciliation to the Greeks. There should be but one party among the Greeks; the minds and bodies of all should be devoted to the expulsion of the Turks, the establishment of the constitution and the laws, and the security of person and property.

I hope that a congress will take place at Salona, for the purpose of concerting measures of good government and military co-operation in Eastern and Western Greece. Odysseus is resolved to proclaim his noble sentiments, and to act up to them with vigour.

We anxiously await accounts from your armies at Arta and Lepanto.

I am your friend,

L. S.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

Athens, 30th March, 1824.

Excellent Sir,

I REQUEST you to lay before the Greek government and to publish the accompanying letter from the London Committee, recommending reconciliation to the Greek leaders. Without union, your independence and liberties—all will be lost.

There are who say that the views of Great Britain are selfish. Some pretend that she wishes to purchase the Morea. Now I put it to the good sense of the representatives of the people whether the magnanimous Alexander, with his million of disciplined and valiant troops, and backed by the victorious Greeks, would sanction such a bargain. In one sense, indeed, my countrymen are selfish. They wish to see Greece great and free; great that they may benefit by her industry and wealth, and free that the numbers of the enfranchised may be augmented, and give additional security to the liberties of England. All other selfish views we disclaim. In fact, were our ambition of the worst character, what success could the most unprincipled minister expect against Greece, supported by a million of Russian bayonets? What, but that Greece would be subdued by her protector.

I wish the legislative body to understand that I by no means complain of these erroneous notions; on the con-

trary, I wish them to be published, that they may be established or confuted. Free men and free governments should court publicity, because it leads to the elucidation of truth.

I am your friend,

L. S.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF HYDRA.

Athens, 30th March, 1824.

Excellent Sir,

I REQUEST of you to reflect on and to publish the enclosed letter on reconciliation, from the Greek Committee in London. The evidence of every day proves the evils arising out of disunion. But for it, the Greeks would have been in possession of Patras, Lepanto, Negropont, and Candia; and their good people would not have been starving in this fertile region.

I rejoice that the Hydriots have established a free press. The full exercise of truth upon all immoral actions promotes virtue and secures the highest measure of happiness.

I am your most devoted servant,

L. S.

Humphreys has just arrived from Missolonghi. He has succeeded in his mission. A congress is to take place immediately at Salona, at which Mavrocordato, Lord Byron, and other Englishmen will be present. [Vide Appendix, Nos. 24 and 25.] Mavrocordato was much indisposed towards the congress, and Mr. Finlay had not succeeded in bringing him to the adoption of that measure. He hinted to Lord B. the possibility of

Odysseus retaliating on him the treachery he had experienced from Lord Churchill. I mention this as a specimen of Turkish intrigue and cunning.

The prospectus of the Greek Telegraph has appeared. When I wrote it, I had no idea that the motto, "The world our country, and doing good our religion," would have been objected to, or I would (if I could) have selected a better. I by no means meant to encroach upon the orthodoxy of the methodists. I have desired numbers to be sent to you weekly for sale. Byron is constantly to write articles for the Telegraph. [Vide Appendix, Nos. 26 and 27.]

An anonymous letter was yesterday picked up in the streets of Athens. It called upon the Athenians to turn out Goorha from his command in the fort, as they had their former Ephores. The letter was shown to Goorha to irritate his undisciplined mind. He called on me this morning, when I told him that I had heard with deep regret that some crafty villian had set a snare to injure his fellow-citizens, but that I was sure that he would despise all such arts. Let him treat them as I had done the report that England wished to purchase the Morea. I then read my letter to the Greek government to him, and told him that after it had been published and spread abroad, I should present myself before the Moreots to receive their sentence.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, 31st March, 1824.

My dear B.

I HAVE this moment received a letter from the Athenians, approving my conduct and desiring me to remain here, together with another on the same subject, and addressed to the Committee. [Vide Appendix, Nos. 28 and 29.] The following is a copy of my answer to the Athenians.

“ Athens, 31st March, 1824.

“ Athenians,

“ YOUR warm reception, your approval of my conduct, the expression of your esteem, and your desire that I should remain among you and aid you in your difficulties, fill my heart with pleasure.

“ I was sent here by the Greek Committee to promote your liberties. In this noble work they associated me with Lord Byron, an alliance that at once sheds honour on me and dooms me to insignificance. My sole merit is in having felt and acted like a Greek. I have scrupulously avoided connecting myself with any faction. I know no enemy but the Turks, no party but the people of Greece—her valiant soldiers, her daring sailors, and her virtuous peasantry; no authorities but the representatives of the nation; and no law but that sanctioned by your excellent constitution.

At Athens all my feelings have been gratified. Dead must his soul be who could behold her matchless ruins,

could reflect on her past glory and long sufferings, could witness her reviving efforts, her public assemblies, her free elections, her bold declaimers, and her martial citizens, and not feel moved at her awful story and thankful to Providence for her deliverance.

“ I deeply regret that the state of my health prevents my remaining in Greece during the hot weather.

“ I am your most devoted servant,

“ L. S.”

Two persons have been sent from Cranidi to persuade me to join the government: the one is a M. Theocletos, who was secretary to the minister-at-war; the other is an officer. My present intention is to go first to the congress at Salona, and then to join the government. I have also had many applications from the opposite party. By my warm attachment to the Greek cause, my resolution in avoiding all factions, and my open conduct, I have gained friends on all sides.

The only way to effect a union in Greece, where there are so many discordant interests among the ruling few, is to get two or three men of influence to take the right course. If none of exalted virtue are to be found, then convince those of an inferior caste that it is their interest to promote good government. I think that Odysseus is determined to pursue this line of conduct, and that he will carry with him a great part of the military body. Ipsilanti is also well-disposed and has great influence over both soldiery and people. I wish to see him the president of the legislative body. Till that assembly acquires some influence in the nation no good can be effected. To give them their due weight it will

be necessary to publish their proceedings. Negriz is a clever man, and is of the popular side, but intriguing. Mavrocordato is always for good government, and will be forced to pursue the strong tide of popular feeling, or he will struggle and sink.

The first step to be taken at Salona will be to shake hands and to commence business in a spirit of amity; the next, to arrange how the proceedings may be conducted with order; the assembly should then consider how they can obtain means to support the troops at Thermopylæ, Arta, Negropont; &c. Proclamations should then be issued, declaiming against factions, extortion, the want of military exertion, civil war, &c. and calling upon the people to remember the conduct of their ancestors, and to make exertions to put the laws and constitution in force, and to crush the enemy.

The Morea is troubled by the hostilities between the Colocotroni and government factions. Colocotroni is shut up in Tripolitza, and his son Pano in Napoli. Eastern Greece is tranquil. Odysseus is at Negropont, from whence 700 Albanians have lately absconded in a body. Measures should be taken at congress for securing the passes of Thermopylæ. Western Greece is also tranquil, but the people of Missolonghi are dissatisfied with Mavrocordato for spending too much in his house, on his table, guards, &c. The islands are all tranquil. Candia is subdued, but the peasantry of the mountains will rise again on the arrival of the fleet. The Albanians in their own country and in the garrisons of Greece are discontented. We are trying to move them by setting before their eyes a list of the grievances they are doomed to under Turkish rule, and recommend-

ing them to make themselves independent. The Turks have much confidence in Mahommed Ali, Pacha of Egypt; but what can an individual do with an undisciplined horde of Turkish soldiers and sailors? Upon the whole I am of opinion that Greece will make great progress in her civil government this year, but none in her military career. The foundation laid, great things may be done next year.

I have not yet got the presses from Napoli, but have them I will. I have sent a courier to Missolonghi for a lithographic press.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LIX.

TO THE SAME.

Athens, 2d April, 1824.

My dear B.

CAPTAIN CLIFFORD has just arrived. I requested of him to demand the restitution of the stores at Napoli. He made some objections, but I assured him there were no arms or ammunition, upon which he said that if he went there he would endeavour to procure them.

Should the present party triumph, they will still have a formidable opposition. They will have the Colocotronis, the Ipsilantis, Petrobeys, Delemanis, and most of the military chiefs to contend with. These, in the event of any reverse of fortune, would upset the government.

M

For this reason I shall do all in my power to get the government to pursue a course that will disarm this phalanx. In the first place by enlisting Ipsilanti, Niketas, young Mavromichaeli, Pano, and some of the best of their coherents; and, secondly, by pursuing a just course of government, and doing nothing to offend the soldiery. The army have an idea that Mavrocordato and his party are hostile to them. This notion should be removed, not by timid concessions, but by a due regard to their claims and their families.

In consequence of the increasing strength of the government-party, and their having blockaded Napoli and Tripolitza, the authorities at Athens delayed their departure for Salona till they should see what turn things would take. They would not, however, hear either of my departing without them, or of my not going with them. At last they consented to proceed on the morning of the 5th instant. The morning came, but Goorha said that farther delay was necessary, on account of some hundreds of Odysseus' soldiers having deserted for want of pay. I then resolved on going to Ægina. Hearing of this, Goorha promised to depart for Salona the next morning. I agreed. In the evening, however, I received an invitation from Captain Clifford to proceed to Napoli. After a long negotiation with the Prefect, for the commandant is locked up at night in the fortress, I was allowed to depart the next morning.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LX.

TO THE SAME.

Hydra, 7th April, 1824.

My dear B.

I THIS morning reached Hydra. The authorities were assembled, and I addressed the members on various matters. I made arrangements with the editor of "L'Ami des Lois" to send to London several numbers of his paper: these I solicit the Committee to dispose of for the benefit of the editor. I subscribed £20 yearly to this Gazette.

Off Napoli, 8th April.

On our arrival here we found a French fleet of two frigates and three brigs. The Commodore had a claim against the Greek government for acts of piracy; and, as they had a difficulty in paying him, he entered into an agreement with Pano to surrender up a Turkish bey, then a prisoner at Napoli. The government remonstrated, and desired the French Commodore to observe the law of nations and the blockade. The Frenchman swaggered and yielded.

In consequence of the blockade, Captain Clifford could not send a boat to demand the restitution of my property at Napoli. I however addressed a letter to Pano full of threats and compliments: I told him that his friends Odysseus and Goorha were anxious to have the press and to meet me at Salona. This was confirmed by Goorha's own letters to Pano, for I have the good fortune to be well with both parties. I intrusted the letter

containing the requisition to a physician, who is employed by Goorha and Odysseus as a spy on me, and by myself as an interpreter. He arrived one hour after another messenger whom I had previously despatched from Athens, and Pano promised to give up the articles on my sending a boat for them. [Vide Appendix, No. 30.]

The executive body are embarked here, and the legislative body is at Argos. I had a long discussion with the former. They objected to the congress at Salona. I told them that it was urged by me when they were weak, and now that they were strong they had only to send a member there to support their interests. To this they agreed. I recommended them to act with vigour, and, when they had subdued their enemy, to neutralize his future power by enlisting the best of his faction into their ranks. I also recommended them to gain over the army: to show the military chiefs that it was their interest to be with them, and the soldiers that they never would be provided for till they had a regular government. I pointed out to them the policy of giving greater influence to the legislative body, by which means alone the people could be raised to power and to predominance over the existing military despotism. This was to be done by their pursuing good measures, by selecting popular topics for debate, by having their speeches ably reported, by spreading wide the newspapers, and by sending them to all the Prefects, by proclamations, &c. I advised them to be exceedingly careful in selecting good and tried officers and men for the garrisons of Corinth, Napoli, Navarin, Tripolitza, &c.

I also spoke with several members of the legislative

body, and advised them to resume their sittings, to discuss popular measures, to correspond with their constituents, and not to talk alone, but to act.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXI.

TO THE SAME.

Gulf of Napoli, 9th April, 1824.

My dear B.

I EXPECT to have the press to-morrow. I shall forward it to Ægina, for the use of the Athenians. The following is a copy of my letter to them:—

“ Athenians,

“ I call you Athenians because you are the worthy descendants of that ancient, learned, valiant, and famed people—because you have bravely asserted and wisely preserved your liberties.

“ I am sent among you as the agent of the Greek Committee of London. I will not tire you by a long dissertation on the advantages that must result from the free exercise of reason on the measures of government. Englishmen, knowing its happy influence, have sent to Greece a number of presses, one of which I now present, in their name, to the Athenians. Let them exercise it for the good of the people. Let them guard it as a sacred pledge of the attachment of the Britons to the Greeks.

“ Your cause, Athenians, has touched the people of England to the heart. They have beheld with wonder the exploits of the Greeks by land and sea. With anxious solicitude they have watched a people nobly struggling with adversity and bravely starting from their chains, undismayed by defeat, and in the end triumphing over an empire that has for ages maintained itself against the substantive states of Europe. But what is no less extraordinary is that a nation so long enslaved by Roman and by Turkish emperors should, amidst the clash of arms and the war of factions, have established a free constitution.

“ To pursue and to perfect the work they have so well began is, however, a difficult task. Athenians, you are well aware, that the end of government is the public good, or, in other words, the greatest good of the greatest number. This cannot exist without perfect security of person, property, and reputation. If this desirable state of things cannot be found in Greece, where the people are so virtuous, it is because the small number, who have grasped the powers of government, have pursued their own advantage in preference to that of the community. I allude to no party in particular, but to the ruling few of all parties. To correct this state of things, the people must either have recourse to physical force, or to reason and the full exercise of truth upon criminal actions, through the persuasive and commanding influence of a free press. De Lolme has well illustrated its power and demonstrated its superiority over the greatest of earthly potentates. ‘ If,’ he says, ‘ in an empire of the East, there should be found a sanctuary, which, venerable from

‘ the ancient religion of the country, should ensure the
‘ safety of all who should there utter their opinions ;
‘ if from such a sanctuary there should issue printed
‘ papers, which, by the affixing of a certain seal,
‘ should acquire an equal title to inviolability, and
‘ which, in their daily appearances, should freely exa-
‘ mine and comment on the conduct of the Cadis, the
‘ Pachas, the Vizirs, and the Sultan himself; the
‘ inevitable consequence of such a combination of cir-
‘ cumstances would be the establishment of liberty.’

I am,

Your most devoted servant,

L. S.

The following is the prospectus which I have drawn up:

“ *Prospectus.*

“ THE Greeks, resolved to be free, should be enlightened. This will be best effected by opening the channels of knowledge and placing before their minds all the intelligence of the nineteenth century. To this end nothing is so conducive as the unrestricted publication of men’s thoughts. Some patriots, strongly impressed with this conviction, have undertaken to conduct a journal, to be entitled,

“ THE ATHENS FREE PRESS.

“ The motto to be prefixed to it is as follows :

‘ *Publicity is the Soul of Justice.*’

“ The editors in selecting this motto, have implied the vast importance which they attach to publicity. Without it, the people must remain ignorant of the proceedings of the senate, and incapable of judging of

the conduct of their representatives; they are kept in the dark concerning the administration of the laws and the character of their judges; and the wealth and the revenue of the nation, which are the produce of their labour, may be extorted from them and squandered away in luxury and corruption. By far the most effectual means of giving publicity to all acts is through the medium of the press, because it embraces the whole field of government, and gives to our ideas the widest extent of circulation.

“ We are friendly to free discussion, and hold, that opinions, though erroneous, when well canvassed and digested, tend to the ultimate advancement of truth. Insertion will therefore be given in ‘ The Athens Free Press’ to every well written article, however at variance with our own opinions. Men of all parties acknowledge that the peasantry, and the mass of the Greeks, are virtuous. Now, virtue is the essential characteristic of a free people. We shall, therefore, maintain the fundamental principles of the constitution and the commonwealth. The elective franchise we desire to see extended in its widest sense, as at Athens, and the public functionaries selected from amongst the most honest, active, intelligent, and patriotic of our citizens. The laws, we contend, should be plain and comprehensive; and justice openly, speedily, and cheaply administered. We shall watch with a jealous eye the conduct of our public functionaries, especially of our ministers, judges, generals, and prefects. Upon the virtue of these great officers of state depend our success in war, and the enforcement of the constitution and the laws. We shall endeavour to do justice to our army and

navy, by recording their acts. Unaided, they have triumphed over an empire that has often foiled the powerful states of Europe, and have established in Greece a free constitution. Their deeds stand unrivalled, even by those of their great ancestors. To nothing can they be compared, but to the realization of an epic poem, or of a dream. Foreigners we shall watch—their words, their looks, their actions, shall not escape us. If they come hither to intrigue, they shall be exposed; if to advance our interests, honoured. We are in favour of foreign settlers. They will bring with them capital, knowledge, industry, and civilization. They will advance our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and, by so doing, they will promote our wealth. All our exertions shall be used to further the establishment of museums, of agricultural, horticultural, and other societies; but they shall, above all things, be directed towards the formation of schools, and of a body of instructors for the diffusion of education among the people.

With all the power of the press,—a power that must ultimately enforce truth and a virtuous course of government, we shall endeavour to promote union among the Greeks. Disunion paralyzes the efforts of our government and of our warriors; it ruins our agriculture, our commerce, and our credit; and it inflicts on our good people poverty, disease, starvation, and death. Turks triumph in our disunion; it is their only hope. Despots triumph in our disunion; it lays our country open to their avarice and to their lust of domination; perhaps to ages of dark bondage, like those which our fathers have lingered through in anguish.

“ With respect to foreign politics, we wish Greece to remain in amity with all nations, and to see them prosper, in order that we may benefit by their intercourse.

“ ‘ The Athens Free Press ’ will be published twice every week. The subscription to it will be three dollars per annum. Those who wish to have this journal will be pleased to address themselves to ————

“ As the merits and success of a newspaper depend chiefly on those who contribute their thoughts and intelligence, the editors solicit the mental aid of all well-informed Greeks towards the furtherance of their undertaking.”

I propose to give one of the lithographic presses to the representative body, and the other to the Ipsariots. Of all the islands, Ipsara is said to be the best governed, and the freest. From it intelligence may be spread far—even to Turkey.

I hope to reach you soon after this letter. My health is feeble, and my work is nearly finished.

Yours,

L. S.

I shall send you my correspondence-book ; remember that it was written at full speed.

L. S.

LETTER LXII.

TO THE SAME.

Napoli di Romania, 9th April, 1824.

My dear B.

NAPOLI being in a state of blockade, and the French commodore not having been allowed to commu-

nicate with that place, on account of his being desirous to carry off from thence a Turkish bey, the Greek Admiral requested of Capt. Clifford to observe the same rule. I was, therefore, obliged to address a letter to Pano, relative to the Committee's articles in his possession, and to forward it by land. I received a civil answer, and was told that I might have the property, provided I would send an English boat for it. The next day the French fleet sailed. I then made for Napoli, and after some difficulty obtained the things.

Pano Colocotroni behaved towards me with politeness. I said he was in error in conceiving that his enemies had prejudiced me against him. They had, on the contrary, spoken in his praise, and impressed me with a favourable opinion of his merits. I told him that I had just published a letter in the "*Ami des Lois*," in which I had defended England and myself against the charge of wishing to purchase the Morea, and was now come among my accusers to be judged. Pano wondered; Metaxa, who was present, looked abashed; and the rest of the company laughed heartily. Pano and Metaxa repeatedly offered to rest the decision of their cause on my judgement. I told them that I was a foreigner, and would never interfere more in their concerns than I thought a Greek should do in the affairs of England. They offered to take me round the fortress. I cautioned them that I was going direct into the enemy's camp. I told them that I was so shallow a diplomatist that I had never been able to discover the political cause that divided Greece. They said that there was none. Pano said I was a good Philhellene. I replied, that I was neither Greek nor Philhellene, for I

belonged to no faction; perhaps it was because I had no interest to serve. Pano said he thought I had pursued my real interest; for I had gained my end, which gratified my ambition.

Metaxa is a sly politician, who has injured his country and raised himself by his cunning. He is Pano's adviser. I asked him what he was fighting for? "Because he was attacked."—"Why don't you give up the fortress?"—"We are ready to do so to a just government."—"Who is to be the judge?"—"A general assembly."—"An armed assembly?"—"No. Well; we are also ready to coalesce."—"How?"—"We will allow the President, Vice-president, and Coletti to remain in office, and our opponents may permit us to name Sotiris Caralamba. Zaimis is neutral."—"They have passed sentence against Sotiris Caralamba."—"It was unjust; but if they will not agree to this, let them change the whole government." I have already given you my opinion that the government, though successful, could not go on for any length of time without coalescing. A priest, who inclined to the government party, was massacred during the time I was at Napoli. Whether this horrible act was sanctioned by the authorities, I know not. The consequences may, perhaps, prove beneficial to the Greek cause.

Coletti and two of the representatives are gone to treat with Colocotroni at Tripolitza. If he fails, I will endeavour to see what a disinterested foreigner can effect.

Mill, near Argos, April 10th.

My time has been taken up with the representatives. At my request they have agreed to commence their sit-

tings. I was present at one this morning. Their Vice-president is a priest. He said that the Greeks owed much to England, and were happy to see me among them. I replied that I valued the compliment as coming from the representatives of a virtuous and suffering people. I then gave them an account of the character and conduct of the Committee. They desired my advice concerning the loan. I said that I was of opinion that it should be placed at Zante, under the charge of certain commissioners, and should only be paid over to an effective government. The administration should then reserve it for the payment of the soldiers actually engaged in war. They should limit the number of officers, and the government should appoint an honest commissioner to accompany each army, for the purpose of calling the roll every month, and putting the pay into the hands of each soldier. None of the money should be devoted to the payment of old debts. They approved of these suggestions, and said they would pass a law to that effect. I urged them to publish their proceedings. I presented Mr. Bentham's manuscript on government to them, observing that they should prefer his aid to that of the Holy Alliance, for if they followed his maxims, they would be free and powerful; whereas, if they accepted the hollow friendship of despots, though adorned with ribbons and golden chains, they must relapse into long and hopeless servitude. The assembly then passed a law to prevent those who had absented themselves from their duties from being re-elected; and also one appointing commissioners for the loan. This body appears to be divided into three parties: about twelve be-

long to the Colocotroni faction ; the rest are the Primates, who are rather addicted to Turkish principles of government, and the republicans, who take England, America, and Switzerland for their models. The latter feelings now begin to predominate.

I have two presses here. The royal press I shall send immediately to Athens. The lithographic press I have attempted to work, but not with success. I shall get Gropius, who was a copper-plate printer, to undertake it. The lithographic presses do not answer here. Small cheap presses would suit best in young countries. You are aware that, though crossed in every way, I set up the "Telegraph," at Missolonghi. When I left that place, Hodges and Gill promised to print the prospectus in English. They made every effort to do so, but were again and again thwarted by Parry. In short, the press has had to contend with every difficulty, but it has triumphed. It has produced a revolution in the public mind, and the people are now in arms against the arbitrary proceedings of the Colocotronis.

Giorgio Gaza, the Archi-Mandrite, a friend of Corea's, has been deputed to the government by the people of Olympus. 12,000 of them offer to rise and to take the field, provided they are supplied with one month's pay, and a quantity of powder and lead. The Turks never could disarm them, although they were partially subdued in the early part of the revolution. If they had two ships, to prevent supplies coming in on their flank, they would do wonders.

The Greeks talk and talk, but they must be strongly impelled before they will act. I have got a person to

report the proceedings of their legislative body, and I shall make a hard battle to have the names of the orators prefixed to their speeches.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXIII.

TO THE SAME.

Mill, near Napoli, 12th April, 1824.

My dear B.

I PROPOSE to address the following letter to the secretary of the legislative body :

“ Sir,

“ To promote the strength and knowledge of
 “ the Greeks is the first desire of my heart. To this
 “ end, it is necessary that their representatives should
 “ be raised to their proper elevation. Instead of this,
 “ my ears are pained with the sound of individual
 “ names,—of Colocotroni, Mavrocordato, Byron, Ipsilanti, Metaxa, Stanhope, &c. No one ever hears
 “ any thing of the virtuous and enlightened members of
 “ the legislative body. They are doomed to rise and
 “ fall, and to expend their exertions to no purpose ;
 “ and the consequence is, that they and the people, instead of being almost omnipotent, are considered as
 “ so many ciphers. What is the reason? Why, because
 “ neither they nor the people are known. To make
 “ them known and to put your free constitution in force,

“ publicity is necessary. Your house of assembly
“ should be wide open ; the speeches of the members
“ should be published ; how else can men judge of their
“ conduct ? Their acts should be spread abroad, or the
“ people must remain ignorant of their laws. How is
“ this to be done ? Let a report of the speeches and
“ acts be forwarded to the editors of newspapers.
“ Let the newspapers be sent to all the Prefects, with
“ an order for them to spread the intelligence which
“ they contain : the editors would, no doubt, furnish
“ the printing at prime cost. And let Mavrocordato be
“ solicited to obtain one of the presses at Missolonghi,
“ for the use of the government. Unless some such
“ measures are pursued, the forms of your free consti-
“ tution may remain, but the government will be, in
“ practice, Turkish.

“ I solicit your pardon for the freedom of my remarks.
“ The worthies of the Greek commonwealth must not
“ be offended at truth.

“ I am, &c.

“ L. S.”

The elections take place next month. The franchise is universal to all males above twenty years of age. Every fifty families of a village choose one deputy, who proceeds to the central town of the prefecture. The central town elects twelve deputies. These village and town deputies then elect either one or two members of parliament, according to the extent of their district. This is all done by ballot. The legislative body chooses the executive body by a plurality of voices. This latter consists of five or seven members. They have, at pre-

sent, an undue weight, owing to the want of vigour and intellectual aptitude in the representatives, the publication of whose debates would soon raise their character.

The general assembly is thus formed. Two or four deputies are chosen in each prefecture, by ballot; who then unite and form the general assembly. This is the only body that can make any fundamental change in the constitution. They discuss questions openly, and decide them by ballot and by a simple majority. •

The legislative and executive bodies, indeed all the people, think that the loan will save Greece, if it arrives in time. Every preparatory measure has been taken towards the proper disposal of the money. The Greeks are careful of their money, and not at all disposed to squander the resources of the state. The only danger is, that it should fall into the hands of a few individuals and be appropriated to their particular interests. The present crisis is favourable. The proffered aid could not arrive more opportunely. Had it come sooner, it might have fallen into the hands of the military oligarchs. At present, their fortresses are about to surrender to the constitutionalists, and the government makes progress towards improvement and strength. The loan will enable Greece to protect her frontier this year, her people to reap the fruits of their labour, and the government to collect the revenue. Next year they will, I trust, be in a state to march into the enemy's country.

I have endeavoured to persuade the government to pursue the following plan in the ensuing campaign. They should have three corps on the line of their frontier. One at Thermopylæ for defence; one at Olympus,

for raising the country and inviting the people to arms, as their hearts are already united with the Greeks; and one at Agrafa, for the purpose of defence; or of offence, if they should succeed in exciting an insurrection among the Albanians.

I am, yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER LXIV.

TO THE SAME.

Argos, 14th April, 1824.

My dear B.

LAST night a courier arrived from Athens, with letters for me from Odysseus, Goorha, Anastatius, and others, stating that they had departed for the congress at Salona, and pressing me to hasten thither. [Vide Appendix, No. 31.] I passed the night in writing and packing, and in the morning waited upon the executive body. They objected to the congress, said that it was not sanctioned by them, but had been promoted by Negris, and finally brought about by me. I told them, that I had urged it at the solicitation of Odysseus, at a time when the government was feeble, and that its object was to form a strong league in favour of good government and vigorous exertions, and to force the Morea to act on similar principles. I was asked why I had given the press to the Athenians which I had promised to the government? I told them that the press, in its way to the seat of government, had been

seized at Napoli; that knowing that Pano would not allow this battery to be turned upon himself, especially as so many of his faction had been wounded by the one established at Missolonghi, I had given it to the people of Athens, and had prevailed upon Goorha, the Prefect Lambro, Sophianopulo, and other friends of Colocotroni, to write to Pano to deliver it up. By these means I had obtained the press; Goorha and Odysseus had pledged their words that it should be free, and Professor Psylas, a friend of the government and of liberty, was engaged to write for it. Owing to the probability of Athens being blockaded, I should send the press for the present to Ægina, the Prefect of which island is under the influence of the government. I said, that if this manoeuvre did not satisfy them, I must go to Salona, watch the tactics of Negris and Mavrocordato, and endeavour in future to be more skilful. They smiled, approved, and gave me their despatches.

Argos, like all the other towns of Greece, is in ruins. I called on Flesas, archimandrite and minister of the interior. He is a shrewd man, was one of the plotters of the revolution, and has served much as a soldier. Almost every captain has some priests among his soldiers, and they are only distinguished from the others by their beards. Flesas' brother is blockading Tripolitza. His name is Niketas. Another general of the same name, and famed for his martial virtue, came out of the town and implored him not to injure his fellow-soldiers and citizens, and attempted to embrace him. The other desired him to return to his duties, to give up the town to the government, and not to approach, or he would attack him. Again he approached in amity. The stern

soldier drew his sword. The two Niketas fought. The government captain wounded his friend, and then wept over and embraced him. Pray communicate this chivalrous sentimental story to the German Committees. There are scribblers in that country, that would make it up into a five-act drama, with choruses.

Corinth, April 15th.

On my road hither, I met a large drove of sheep; I asked to whom they belonged, and was told, to one Mamalaga, a wealthy man of Agrafa, who had set off with 60,000 sheep from his own country, and had driven the flock to the Morea. Half of the sheep had been captured on the road.

Corinth is in the same state as Argos. The ancient and modern ruins furnish a contrast by which the respective merits of the Greek and Turkish governments may be compared. The captain of the town is a Serb. He has 90 men either of his own country or of Bulgaria. These soldiers are brave. They left Odysseus because he could not pay them.

Salona, April 16th.

I reached Salona this morning. Nothing can exceed the beauty and sublime character of the scenery between the gulf and this place. There the eye embraces at a glance the rude sea, a valley of flowers, a winding stream, and mountains covered with firs and topped with snow. I have been disappointed in not finding Lord Byron and Mavrocordato here. The reason assigned is a plot that is said to have taken place at Missolonghi, to deliver that place up to the Turks.

This may be the real cause, but Mavrocordato was always averse to meeting Odysseus, or to allowing Lord Byron to quit the seat of his government.

After the congress here is over, I shall proceed to Ægina, to Athens, and then to Zante, and England.

Goorha has just called upon me. He said, "Well, you have now seen both parties, what do you think of them?" I replied, "Your captains are for plunder and liberty. The government are for order and a mild despotism. I am for and against you both. I am for order and liberty."

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXV.

TO THE SAME.

Salona, 18th April, 1824.

My dear B.

ODYSSEUS arrived here yesterday: Negris accompanied him. This Negris is perhaps the cleverest fellow in Greece. He is a rugged statesman out of employ, and professes to be a republican. He, Mavrocordato, Odysseus, and Sophianopulo, are famed for political intrigue and tactics. Neither Lord Byron nor Mavrocordato have yet arrived. Odysseus has despatched a letter to the latter, stating that the authorities in Western Greece are assembled to meet him in congress. Mavrocordato, finding that the government are strong, will probably excuse himself, by stating the

troubled state of Missolonghi, owing to the conspiracy to deliver that place over to the Turks.

The captains are generally adverse to the loan. They say that it will be plundered by the government party. The fact is, they fear that it will deprive them of power and the means of acquiring wealth. They have a notion, too, that the government is hostile to the army, and I have solicited the government to remove this opinion, by paying their soldiers, and doing them strict justice; also, by issuing proclamations against those captains who do not pursue this course. It should always be considered that an army consists of two branches; if, therefore, you cannot gain the officers, gain the men, and you render their leaders impotent.

In a letter to Ipsilanti, Sophianopulo boasts of his address, in having set me against Mavrocordato, and gained me over to the opposite side. In the same letter, he solicits Colocotroni's party to deliver over the presses to me. So much for Sophianopulo's cunning. The letter was intercepted by the government and will be published. [Vide Appendix, No. 32.]

I have just come from a meeting. Negris, in a long diplomatic speech, seemed to recommend a general assembly. I objected to an armed assembly. He then wished to give our congress that character. I protested against any measure in the least degree unconstitutional. He talked of an oligarchy that had existed for eighty years in the Morea. I said that there now existed two oligarchies there, the one of the Primates, and the other of the military chiefs; that the way to break this power was by giving weight to the people and their representatives, and that publicity was the means by which

this might be effected. I recommended Odysseus to steer a middle course between both factions, to put the constitution in force, and to act the part of a Washington or a Bolivar. He agreed to send Mr. Trelawny to Lord Byron, for the purpose of persuading him and Mavrocordato to attend the congress. I then desired Odysseus to order Psylas to proceed to Ægina, and to put the press in motion. [Vide Appendix, No. 33.] He said he would desire the Athenians to elect a new judge in the place of Psylas, and to send him thither. I have since despatched Baron Gilman on that mission. All here breathe the noblest sentiments of freedom.

The following is a copy of a letter which I have written to Lord Byron.

Salona, 19th April, 1824.

My dear Lord,

THERE is a report current that your Lordship and myself are appointed commissioners for the disposal of the loan. For my own part, though it will be attended with great inconvenience, I will undertake the responsible charge. Should such a duty devolve upon me, I should insist, as far as I am concerned, on having the money sent, in the first instance, to Zante, or to one of the Ionian islands. I doubt not that your Lordship will agree with me in this opinion, and act accordingly.

I am,

L. S.

I have just received a letter from Hodges and Gill, containing the following passage.—“In respect to what has been done since our arrival, as we cannot say what we wish, we will decline saying any thing. We feel

we should be wanting in every sentiment of gratitude and respect (which we are proud to say are our feelings) if we did not inform you that considerable pains are taken by some person* or persons, to make it appear you are supporting a faction in opposition to the government, and this is not a little increased by a letter written by Mr. Hastings to an American gentleman here, of the name of Jarvis, in which he says that, in spite of all his remonstrances, he is afraid your mind is biassed by a person named, we believe, Sophianopulo, whom Hastings states to be one of the most execrable villains that ever existed."

Lord Byron is dangerously ill. Count Gamba and Mavrocordato have desired me to proceed to Missolonghi, but I have deferred doing so, being myself ill and full of grief, having now first heard of the death of my mother.

I am,

L. S.

LETTER LXVI.

TO THE SAME.

Salona, 21st April, 1824.

My dear B.

LIEUTENANT KLEMPF has just arrived here with the lithographic press from Missolonghi. I have

* Mr. Parry went about with his eyes and hands up, saying, "Horrible, horrible!! a conspiracy is formed against the government, and an Englishman (i. e. L. S.) is at the head of it."

despatched him with it to Ægina. This press I intend for Ipsara, an island said to be well governed, and from whence intelligence may be spread over the Archipelago, and even to Turkey.

I have recommended to the Greek government to court the friendship of America, and have requested of them to send an agent thither. The object of this mission would be to desire the republic to send an envoy to Greece, and to favour commercial intercourse between the two countries. M. Kalergy would, I think, undertake the mission, and Mr. Finlay has offered, through me, to go to America to forward its objects. From the liberal spirit of the American government, and from the circumstance of the Porte never having acknowledged their independence, they would, perhaps, feel favourably disposed towards Greece. Three or four years back, America sent an agent to the Porte to make a treaty, who was sent away in an uncourtly manner.

I have desired the Greek Government to send me information concerning their receipts and expenditure, made out agreeably to the form Mr. Hume gave me, or to the budgets I procured in Switzerland. I have also desired them to send me a report on their military system, with returns of their different corps, the number of their men and officers, their pay and stations, &c. I have also requested Odysseus to furnish me with a plan for the ensuing campaign. [Vide Appendix, No. 34.] I have had the following conversation with Monsieur Negris, on the subject of the Holy Alliance. "I am of opinion," said I, "that Monsieur Gropius, the Austrian Consul, at Athens, is the person who gives in-

formation about Greece to the Holy Alliance?" "You are right," answered he: "some time back he went to Smyrna, and on his return had a communication with Petrobey through an agent. Petrobey was told that the allied sovereigns had just concluded a congress; that peace had been restored between Russia and the Porte; and that they now offered their mediation between the Greeks and the Turks. Petrobey was satisfied with the proposition, and recommended that M. Gropius should attend at the ensuing general assembly and make known the generous offer. As soon as this preliminary step had been taken, a similar proposition was made by M. Gropius to General Odysseus. He consulted me on the subject, and under various pretences I delayed giving an answer for nearly a month. At the expiration of this period an evasive answer was returned, full of politeness, and concluding by expressing a hope that the cause of humanity and religion would soon be advanced by the capture of Negropont from the infidels. This negotiation took place about three months back." From the enlightened policy which Mr. Canning appears to me (if at this distance one can judge) to have pursued towards Greece, it would, perhaps, be well that he should be informed on this subject.

The congress has commenced. The members were freely chosen by the people of their respective prefectures. Besides these, the chiefs Odysseus, Pannuria, and Goorha were present. Negris proposed that the meeting should decide whether the government at Argos or that at Tripolitza was the real government. After a long discussion it was resolved unanimously that the

former was the government. The next question was this—What are the best means of putting the constitution and the laws in force? Monsieur Sophianopulo proposed that the people should be ordered to elect some military men; that these deputies should proceed first to Salona, and there receive written instructions how to act: that they should then proceed to Argos, accompanied by the captains and their troops, and remain there till the Peloponnesians had sent out their quota of soldiers to the frontier. These infamous propositions met with no support. A priest from Zeitouni then proposed that the cantons should be solicited to elect one military man of talent; and that the congress should draw up a statement showing the actual state of the country. Both these measures were adopted. Here I must draw your attention to the important fact that this congress was called, and is attended by the military chiefs, and that it is pursuing none but constitutional measures. Negris and Odysseus have great merit.

In spite of all obstacles, the civil government of Greece has made, and will still make, great progress during this year. Publicity has been established. The monarchical and aristocratical have given way to the democratical spirit. The military chiefs will be forced to bend to the people. The legislative body must soon begin to make known its acts and to take its high station. Meanwhile the loan will enable the government to support its authority and to act on the defensive during the ensuing campaign. When that is at an end, and the Turks have retired into their winter-quarters, then will be the time for the friends of liberty to advance and to conquer.

I have just heard that the Colocotronis have surren-

dered Napoli and Tripolitza. [Vide Appendix, No. 35.]

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Salona, 28th April, 1824.

My dear B.

I PROPOSE to present one of the lithographic presses to the Ipsariots, with the following letter :—

“ Brave Ipsariots,

“ Seamen have ever proved the firmest friends of liberty. You have nobly supported this character. You were among the first to resist oppression and to raise the standard of Greece. From the very commencement of the revolution you have sacrificed your property and your persons to promote the public good. You have stood foremost in the fight and have humbled the proud Turk. You have maintained your free constitution, and Ipsara is an example of its happy influence. For these reasons I have sent you a printing-press, intrusted to my charge by the Greek Committee of England. Accept it as a pledge of attachment from your brother islanders. Exercise it for the spreading of knowledge throughout the Archipelago. From knowledge emanate power, wealth, freedom, happiness, and fame. May these blessings, brave Ipsariots, be the

portion of your children—the sweet reward of your virtuous exertions and your honourable toils.

“ I am your most devoted servant,

“ L. S.”

From various quarters I learn that I am nominated one of the commissioners of the Greek loan. [Vide Appendix Nos. 36, 37, 38.] I must ever feel proud of the confidence of the Committee: I am aware, however, that great responsibility is attached to that office, and as I am, from ill health, unable to remain in Greece during the hot weather, it would have been better to have deputed some other person as your agent in this business. However, as the lot has fallen on me, I shall act. I shall consider equally the interests both of the lenders and of the borrowers. The establishment of a strong and just government is what both the parties require: unless this end is likely to be attained, I will not consent to deliver over the money. When the fortresses are in the hands of the government, I shall consider that they are in a condition to fulfil their contract and to pay the interest of the money borrowed.

Our congress goes on admirably: the questions that have been discussed are, 1st. Which is the lawful government, that of Tripolitza or that of Argos? 2dly. What are the best means of putting the constitution and the laws in force? 3dly. The state of the nation? 4thly. What are the military measures that should be adopted? 5thly. What are the financial measures that should be pursued? Their proceedings will be all published and shall be forwarded to the Committee.

As soon as I have made the necessary arrangements

with respect to the loan I shall start for England. My ambition would lead me to remain in Greece, but my health and affairs render my return indispensable.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Salona, 30th April, 1824.

My dear B.

A GREAT conflagration has taken place at Cairo. Houses, magazines, grain, ammunition, four thousand persons, the whole of the artillery corps, and the nephew of Mahommed Ali, have been consumed. The sovereign, with his son, was without the walls of the town. Some pretend that the Pacha was privy to this act. Shortly previous to this dreadful fire a part of the city of Cairo was destroyed by a heavy fall of rain. Providence seems to favour the Greeks.

The Turkish fleet consists of eleven ships from Tunis, the fleet of the Pacha of Egypt, now at Candia, &c. in all amounting to forty-five vessels, having on board 12,000 troops, destined to act against the Peloponnese. As the Pacha's irregular troops are chiefly cavalry, little can be expected from them.

A new prophet has sprung up at Mecca, and, having joined the Wahabees, has decided on attacking Ali Pacha, whose regular troops, with some other tribes, are also threatening rebellion. Perhaps Ali Pacha se-

cretly foments these disorders, in order to excuse himself from the invasion of Greece.

From Larissa we learn that about 15,000 Turks are there assembled. They, however, desert in great numbers. The Turks have lately held a meeting at that place. This assembly has resolved to make every preparation for attacking Greece in two great divisions; the one moving on Athens, the other on Missolonghi. The invading armies have generally amounted to 60,000 men, and the Sultan pays about 200,000 for this undertaking. The Turks have agreed to offer terms of peace to the Greeks. "If," say they, "the Greeks require to be free—free they shall be." We shall soon learn what notion a Turkish assembly have of freedom.

After a general review of the disjointed state of the Turkish empire and of the hostile preparations which they are making, I am of opinion that they are incapable of making any great impression on Greece during the ensuing campaign. If the English money shall arrive in time, their invasion may perhaps be altogether prevented. I am, however, apprehensive that the Greek fleet cannot be in a state this season to meet their antagonists on the seas, or to attempt a general engagement.

A courier has just arrived from the chief Scalza. Alas! all our fears are realized. The soul of Byron has taken its last flight. England has lost her brightest genius—Greece her noblest friend. To console them for the loss, he has left behind the emanations of his splendid mind. If Byron had faults, he had redeeming virtues too—he sacrificed his comfort, fortune, health, and life to the cause of an oppressed nation. Honoured

be his memory! Had I the disposal of his ashes, I would place them in the Temple of Theseus or in the Parthenon at Athens.

Yours,

L. S.

[Vide Appendix, Nos. 36, 37, 38, 39.]

LETTER LXIX.

TO THE PRESIDENT MAVROCORDATO.

Salona, 1st May, 1824.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, relative to Lord Byron's contract with the government to pay the Suliots, and to the means of discharging the pay due to them for past services. In reply I have only to state that I am entirely ignorant of the nature of Lord Byron's contract. I conceive that Lord Byron's trustees are bound in honour and in law to fulfil his Lordship's agreement up to the time of his death, at which period the men should be discharged. With respect to your drawing upon the trustees, and, if not paid by them, having the debt discharged by the British loan, that is a point that must be referred to the representatives of the nation for their decision.

I must now beg leave to call your attention to the subject of the laboratory-establishment at Missolonghi. This establishment, with all the workmen and stores therein, has already been placed under your protection

by the agents of the Greek Committee; I therefore consider that you are responsible to the representatives of the nation and to your government for the proper application and disposal of them. You speak to me about the necessity of union; without it Greece and her liberties must be lost. To effect it, an alliance must be established between those who represent the various parties, I mean those of the people, of the aristocracy, and of the military interests.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXX.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Salona, 3d May, 1824.

My dear B.

THE following is a copy of my letter to Mr. Trelawny:—

“Salona, 1st May, 1824.

“Dear Trelawny,

“THANKS for your most interesting and able letters. You appear to have managed your mission in the most satisfactory manner. You recommend that some one should immediately proceed to Zante to give Napier an honest and full account of the actual state of Greece, and you desire me to mention this to Odysseus. I have done so: we are both of opinion that this measure is absolutely necessary, and we think that no one is so

capable of doing ample justice to such an important mission as yourself; both of us, therefore, earnestly entreat of you to proceed instantaneously to Zante, or Cephalonia, or wherever Napier may be. The first measure for Colonel Napier to adopt is to hold fast the money, and by no means to allow one shilling of it to be sent to any part of Greece till he is fully informed as to the state of its government. I have desired the government to send some well-informed commissioners to Zante to negotiate with us; also to send us proper returns of their armies and fleets, and statements of their accounts, and of their means of paying the interest of the debt.

“ In about four days I shall proceed with Odysseus and the new representatives to Argos. It is his object to establish a good government. From Argos I shall go to Zante or Cephalonia, and hope to reach one of those islands in about a fortnight.

“ I am, &c.

“ L. S.”

[Vide Appendix, Nos. 43, 44, 45.]

Honours have been paid to Lord Byron's memory at Salona. His soul was prayed for in the church. The whole garrison and people of the town then went out into the plain, where another religious ceremony took place, under the shade of the olive-trees. This being concluded, the troops fired; and an oration, of which the following is a translation, was pronounced by the high priest:—

“ The enlightened foreigners, to wit, as many as unite to science the mild feelings of humanity, do not

regard merely with pleasure the vast strides of Greece towards her regeneration, (I mean in her efforts in the war,) and content themselves with wishing you from afar a happy consummation of it, but they immediately contribute towards this end, according to the extent of their several capacities; nay, we behold many of them actually joining us in the struggle, and running the perilous course with us. One of these, who lately made his appearance, was Lord Byron, whom inexorable death would not allow to be severed from the disasters of the regions to which he had previously directed his steps, in order that he might make himself known to the several nations, and who, having united himself to us, had begun to render himself of importance to the Grecian weal, and worthy of the exalted rank to which he was raised by the laws of his own country. He would not refuse to an entire people the benefit of his virtues: he condescended to display them wherever Humanity beckoned him to her aid. This single object of devotion to the well-being of a people has raised him to a distinguished pitch of glory among characters dignified by their virtues, of which the illustrious British nation can make so ample a display, and of whom Greece hopes to behold many co-operating in her regeneration. Having here paid the tribute of admiration due to the virtues of Lord Byron, eternal may his memory remain with me and with the world, and more especially associated with Grecian retrospections."

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXI.

TO COUNT GAMBA.

Salona, 3d May, 1824.

Dear Count Gamba,

GREECE mourns the loss of her friend, Lord Byron. Why deprive her of the consolation of having his remains left in the country where his muse pronounced her sweetest, finest lays, and where he has immortalized himself as the champion of her rising liberties? If my counsel can have weight with you, it is that his ashes should be deposited at Athens, in the temple of Theseus, now a Christian church. Surely this wish is consonant with his former feelings, with those of his family, and of the people of Great Britain.

I am,

Your most devoted servant,

L. S.

LETTER LXXII.

TO JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

Salona, 4th May, 1824.

My dear Mr. Bentham,

You desired me to write to you. Pardon my having so long delayed complying with your commands. I have presented your most valuable manuscript to the representatives of the Greek people. They received

it with expressions of deep-felt gratitude, and promised me that they would consult it as their wisest oracle, and act accordingly. Monsieur Negris, who is the ablest man in Greece, and professes wise principles of government, is labouring at a code of laws. He says, that in order to make it palatable to the people he must make them believe that it is framed after the model of the Byzantine code. I condemned this quackery, and told him to read Dumont. He then desired me to put him in correspondence with yourself. I promised to take this liberty, provided he would act up to your advice. He consented, and I shall forward to you his letter. Were your code ready, it would, I think, be immediately adopted in Greece. Your works are known and admired here by the few who are educated.

The state of Greece is not easily conveyed to the mind of a foreigner. The society is formed, 1st, of the Primates, who lean to oligarchy, or Turkish principles of government; 2dly, of the captains, who profess democratical notions, but who are, in reality, for power and plunder; and lastly, of the people, who are irreproachable in character, and of course desire to have a proper weight in the constitution. The people of the Peloponnesus are much under the influence of the civil and military oligarchs. Those of Eastern and Western Greece are chiefly under the captains. Of these Odysseus is the most influential. His father never bowed to the Turkish yoke: he was a freeman and a robber. Odysseus himself was brought up by the famous tyrant Ali Pacha. He is shrewd and ambitious, and has played the tyrant, but is now persuaded that the

road to fame and wealth is by pursuing good government. He, therefore, follows this course, and supports the people and the republic. Negris, who once signed his sentence of death, is now his minister. Of the islands, Hydra and Spetzia are under the influence of some rich oligarchs, supported by the rabble, and Ipsara is purely democratic.

The parties may be said to be three, 1st, There is Mavrocordato, the oligarchs of the islands, and some of those of the Peloponnesus, and the legislative body. These are for order and a mild despotism, either under a foreign king, or otherwise. This faction stood high, but must now change its principles or lose its power. 2dly, There is Colocotroni, and some of the captains, and some of the oligarchs of the Morea, who are for power and plunder. This party is going down hill at a gallop. And, 3dly, there is Ipsilanti, Odysseus, Negris, and the mass who are now beginning to embrace republican notions, finding that they cannot otherwise maintain their power.

Now, the question is, which of these parties should an honest man embrace? All have stumbled by endeavouring to hug the best of these factions. I have pursued another course, cautiously avoiding them all. I have loudly rated all for their vices, and as loudly praised them for their good acts. This for one who has no genius for political intrigue, tactics, or what is called diplomacy, is the safest course. It places a man of a plain mind on a level with and even above a high-flying politician of the Gentz or Metternich school.

Greece and all the islands are tranquil, with the ex-

ception of two towns, namely Napoli, which is blockaded by the government, and Missolonghi, which is disturbed by a body of Suliots, who play the pretorians.

Civilization and good government are gaining ground, chiefly through the means of publicity. There is a great fund of virtue in Greece, but it is monopolized by the peasantry. What is most wanted is a good representative body, some good prefects, good judges, and public writers. Two or three active and strong minded Englishmen might do incalculable good in Greece, for the people are anxious to improve.

The war lingers, owing to the dissensions which prevail among the ruling few; otherwise it might easily be put an end to with the assistance of the loan. Eastern and Western Greece may be defended with about 12,000 men. By taking one of the castles at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, and blockading Patras and Lepanto with 1,000 men each, these fortresses might be reduced. Negropont might also be taken by blockade. During these operations the people of Olympus should be encouraged to rise in rear of the Turkish armies. After a summer's defensive campaign, the Greeks should push on in the winter, and surprise and conquer.

My principal exertions have been directed towards promoting education, publicity, union, and military exertion, and towards crushing the oligarchs, by giving power to the people and raising the character of their representatives. I confess that I am sanguine with respect to the ultimate success of the Greeks. I found this opinion on the virtuous character of the people, on the strength of their country, on their martial character and their being all armed, on the multiplicity of little

chiefs, on the sudden rise and fall of their leaders, on the love they have for their ancestors, on the clashing interests of their enemies, and on their attachment to the elective franchise, annuality, universality, publicity, &c.

Believe me ever, &c.

L. S.

P. S. I shall be in London in July next.

LETTER LXXIII.

TO THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

Salona, 3d May, 1824.

Excellent Sirs,

I HAVE this moment received orders to proceed to Zante, to receive the Greek loan, in company with Colonel Gordon, and to carry its conditions into effect. I request of you to send thither some able men as commissioners to treat upon the subject with the deputies from England.

Our first duty will be to ascertain whether there are reasonable grounds to believe, that the Greek nation will be able to abide by its contract, by regularly paying the interest of the loan. Upon the deputies from England being satisfied upon this point, the delivery of the money depends. I think it highly necessary that you should give a careful statement of the present condition of Greece, as well as an exact account of the income and expenditure of the Government,

both in the time of the Turkish administration and from the commencement of the insurrection until the present time.

The system of taxation, which the government intends to adopt, must be explained, as well as the plan proposed for carrying on the war both by land and sea, and all expenses required, separately, for each division of soldiers and vessels. The English deputies must be informed whether a government will be established, which unites all military, political, and national benefits. If the chiefs of Greece will not lay aside their prejudices, their envy, and dissensions, and endeavour to form a wise and virtuous union of all parties, it will be impossible to establish in Greece a powerful and permanent government. They are wrong who think otherwise; unless this be done, Greece must remain in a state of anarchy.

By birth I am a stranger to Greece; but as a man accustomed to hold dear the liberty and happiness of mankind, I would, in my present circumstances, consider myself a Greek, and in that character, I would admonish you, that no other system than the one I have pointed out should be pursued. Should any other course be adopted, every Greek will repent, and repent in vain.

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

LETTER LXXIV.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Calacrista, 7th May, 1824.

My dear B.

I SEND you a copy of my letter to the government, on the subject of the loan, and strongly recommending union among the chiefs.

Acting upon the principles of this letter, I have advised, that Odysseus should be placed in the executive; Ipsilanti, as president of the legislative body; General Colliopulo, as minister of war; and Negris, as *ministre d'état*. This is a question upon which men may fairly differ, but upon which my mind is made up. The object of the measure is to break the force of contending factions, and to confound the traitors who are for a foreign king.

Megaspolio is a curious convent. It is situated at the end of a magnificent valley, and backed by a lofty mass of rock. It was formerly the seat of the oracle of Apollo. The senior of the convent was civil and hospitable to us. He said he was ready to accept a king, or any system of government. I replied, that if Greece was doomed to have a foreign king, I hoped that he would not change their venerable religion and convert them into catholics, protestants, or Jews. The interpreter and the priests all flinched. At the beginning of the revolution, 150 of the monks had turned out against the Turks. The superior told me that he and they were ready to take the field again when required. He said there were about 3000 clergy in the Morea.

Zaimis is a great primate, and has charge of Calamata and other districts. He is a strong government man. I talked to him about the necessity of union and the impossibility of carrying on a war against their captains, factions, and the Turks. He called the former robbers. I told him that robbery and even murder in war were considered justifiable, and that it was by these means that the captains had kept up a martial spirit in the nation, which had rescued their groaning country from the Turks. That these vices must now be put down, by giving power to the people, which was to be effected by forming a militia, by placing them in a posture of defence, by giving weight to the legislative body, and by publicity. I next attacked the foreign king faction, and said, they were worse than robbers, for treason was the worst of crimes. Zaimis said that the captains had driven the people mad, and that they now sought repose under foreign aid, and under a foreign monarch. I observed that this was natural. Their calculation was, however, erroneous. It was impossible that Greece should obtain repose under a foreign king. The first measure of a foreign king must be to embody an extensive standing army. He must then endeavour to disarm the people and to put down the captains. He would take their fortresses, he would sweep their plains, but they would still remain masters of the mountains. To effect even this, he must be despotic; he would have to guard his life; every part of his body, where a ball or a dagger could penetrate, must be proof. He must be surrounded by foreign soldiers, for he could not trust to the passionate, the insubordinate, the capricious, and the patriotic Greeks. In short, the foreign king that

would govern Greece must be a Sultan. His life would not be safe for one moment. He would live in pain and would not be allowed to escape. He would rise to be hailed, hooted, and destroyed. After a number of these exotic tyrants had been cut up, Greece would still be doomed to a dreadful despotism, and the people, if relieved from their captains, would be subjected to a worse fate. Zaimis said, that Colocotroni was a fallen man. He had retired to his home with only fifteen men. I contended that this was rather a proof of his power, and that no one dared to attack him.

Londos, a member of the executive body, is just dead. Zaimis succeeds him, and he promises that he will act on principles of reconciliation.

I am, yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXV.

TO THE SAME.

Gastouni, 11th May, 1824.

My dear B.

SISSINI is the captain of this rich district and of the whole plain. His manners and habits, like those of all the oligarchs of the Morea, are Turkish. They are surrounded by useless people;—by flatterers, harlots, soldiers, and servants; and by dirt, splendour, and misery. To counteract these vices and this effeminacy must be the work of time; or rather the effect of

education, through the medium of schools and publicity. I also look to the masculine habits of their soldiery, and to their connexion with European nations, through those Greeks who are educated abroad, and through the settlers and travellers who will flock among them, as means of their improvement.

As usual, I have been honoured here with visits of ceremony; and as usual have at once entered upon matters of public interest. The war, the loan, the elections, the legislative body, the foreign king, and robber factions, the formation of an administration, and of a constitutional force, have been the principal subjects of our discourses. The siege of Patras is a topic of great interest here. The question is—How to take the fortress? The place is weak, but it will still be difficult for the Greeks to capture. It must be taken either by a siege, by shelling, by a blockade, or by treachery. By a siege, the Greeks cannot take it, because they have not the materials necessary, and their irregular troops are not disposed to storm a breach. The place is small and might be taken by shelling, but where are the mortars and shells? Some say at Navarin and at Napoli, but this requires confirmation. I shall press the government on this point. By blockade, Patras, cannot well be taken, for unless the Greeks should have a numerical superiority of ships, however superior they might be in skill and valour, the neutral nations will not recognise the blockade. Could the Greeks even capture the Castles, and thus shut the straights against the Turks, the neutral nations might still contend for their right to pass, as long as the enemy's fleet was in the Corinthian gulf. In the hope, however, that they

might admit this as an efficient blockade, I shall recommend the government to pursue this course. As to taking Patras by treachery, it is very improbable.

I start for Zante to-morrow, and after having made all the necessary arrangements about the loan, I shall, if possible, proceed to England. Your affairs will be conducted by Colonel Gordon and Captain Blaquiere, perhaps persons far better qualified than

Your friend,

L. S.

LETTER LXXVI.

TO THE SAME.

Zante, 12th May, 1824.

My dear B.

ON my arrival at Zante, this morning, Sir F. Stoven put into my hands the following letter :—[Vide Appendix, No. 46.]

I had two visits from Mr. Barff in the course of the day. He told me that the agents could not act until a new commission had been appointed, because the commission was to consist of either Lord Byron, Colonel Gordon, and Conduriottis, or else of Lord Byron, Conduriottis, and myself. I asked if he would not act if the responsibility was taken off his and Logotheti's shoulders, by persons either in Greece, or in the islands. He said, that persons in Greece could give no adequate security, and here he feared that the money could not be raised ; he promised, however, to give me his senti-

ments in writing. I desired him to keep the matter a *profound secret*, because the mere expectation of the loan had a wonder-working effect in Greece.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Zante, 14th May, 1824.

My dear B.

I HAVE addressed the following letters to the Philo-Muse Society and to Costantino Botzaris :

“ Zante, 14th May, 1824.

“ Gentlemen,

“ IN the name of the Greek Committee of England, I request of the Philo-Muse Society, at Athens, to send to London some virtuous and highly-gifted man, for the purpose of his being instructed, at the Committee's expense, in the most improved systems of education ; and when he shall be duly qualified, returning to Greece, and forming schools on similar principles.

“ I am your friend,

“ L. S.”

“ Zante, 14th May, 1824.

“ Costantino Botzaris,

“ BENTHAM, the wisest of jurists, and the

greatest of public benefactors, has directed me to send to England, for education at his expense, the son of that Greek whose father has rendered the most important services to the cause of your liberties. I call upon you, therefore, to send to this friend of Greece the son of Marco Botzaris.

“ I am your friend,

“ L. S.”

I have also addressed the following letter to Colocotroni :—

“ Zante, 13th May, 1824.

“ Dear General,

“ BENTHAM, the great civilian and philanthropist, has learnt from Capt. Blaquiere, that you have a clever son, whom you wish to have educated in England. He has, in consequence, directed me to offer to undertake the paternal superintendence of his studies. In the first instance, he desired me to defray all the expenses of your son's voyage and instructions; but having since learnt that you are in affluent circumstances, he has instructed me to mention, that the whole expense of his education, &c. with the exception of his clothes, will amount to only fifty pounds yearly.

“ The boy being sent to Zante, I will take him with me to England; or, should I be gone before his arrival, he may be placed under Mr. S. Barff's charge, with the money necessary to pay the expense of his voyage. He will then be sent under proper care to Mr. Bentham, and thence to a school, where he will be treated as well

as if he were under the superintendence of his father and mother.

“ I am,

“ Your most devoted,

“ L. S.”

I was delighted at having it in my power to make such an offer to Colocotroni, because he is the best general in Greece, and his connexions consist of the most powerful families. The effect, therefore, will be excellent. It will tend to conciliate the factions, and to place the power of wealth under the guidance of knowledge and, probably, of virtue.

We are hourly expecting to receive a ratification of the loan. We expect, also, Conduriottis and the Greek Commissioners, who will, I trust, be informed on all points connected with the loan, which, in fact, embrace nearly the whole field of government. Independent of the necessity of being duly apprised of the condition of Greece, previous to opening your purse-strings, I think it of vast importance to drive and spur the lazy intellects of the Greek statesmen, and to force them to act. I wish we could let Mr. Joseph Hume loose at them.

Having received no specific answer from MM. Logotheti and Barff, I shall address them as follows :—

Zante, 14th May, 1824.

“ Gentlemen,

“ You having declared to me yesterday, that you should not render up any part of the Greek loan, unless agreeably to the strict letter of the contract and of your instructions ; and the death of Lord Byron

P.

having invalidated the powers of the other commissioners, I have now to request that you will give me a clear written answer upon this subject, in the course of this evening.

“With respect to my duties, I am ready to act and to take upon myself all the responsibility of a commissioner.

“ I am,

“ Your most devoted servant,

“ L. S.”

I have just received an answer from Count Logotheti and Mr. Barff. They refuse to issue the money, the death of Lord Byron having invalidated the commission. They found their decision on my statements. I, therefore, calculate on being, both in Greece and in England, duly burthened with odium. The fact is, however, as you may see by my former letters, that, until I reached Zante, I did not know that Lord Byron must necessarily form one of the commission. When that fact came to my knowledge, and I read of the battling you had had about the commissioners, I certainly could not expect that the agents would act under an imperfect commission. The committee, I know, would have wished me to act, and I was, therefore, ready to sanction, as far as depended on me, the issue of the money, after a full deliberation on the state of Greece, and the good intentions of its government. My opinion, however, is, and I should consider it cowardice, not prudence, to withhold it, that the money ought not at present to be issued. My reasons are, that the government is not sufficiently organized, and that the necessary measures have not as yet been taken for the proper appropriation

of the money. By the time the new commission is appointed, every thing will be prepared, and they may act without loss of time. The argument, indeed, against this reasoning is strong. The Turks and Egyptians are at hand, and the money would settle the government, and give it the means of repelling the enemy. I am, however, of opinion, that the expectation of the money is more likely to be the means of forming a coalesced administration, the only one that can act efficiently; and, as for the Turks, I do not think that they can make a stronger impression on Greece than they made last year. I think it of vast importance, that the committee should send out some able man to Greece; and I wish Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Hume, Mr. Lambton, or another, whom I must not name, could be persuaded nobly to sacrifice five or six months to this object.

Sir F. Stoven having advised me to proceed home direct in the Florida, which is to take Lord Byron's remains to England, I have written to him to say, that I am ready to embark in that vessel.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Zante, 16th May, 1824.

My dear B.

THE dangerous state of Lord Byron's health was long since communicated to you. The account of

his death was sent from Corfu on the 27th April last. You were apprised of my intention to return home; and must, long ere this, have heard of the command I have received to that effect from no less a personage than the King of England. Under all these circumstances I cannot doubt that you have appointed a new commission. I much regret that you did not authorise any two of the commissioners to act as a quorum in case of necessity.

I have always suspected that the metropolitan Ignatius was no friend to Grecian liberty, and that he was a mongrel of Turkish, Russian, and Greek breed. I have lately heard that he has been in correspondence with Mavrocordato about a foreign king. What can you expect from a Greek priest who has been patronised by Ali Pacha and by Russia, whose pensioner he is? What, too, can you expect from one whom he sent to Greece, and patronises? What, but that they will each play the republican or the slave, as circumstances may require or ambition dictate.

Now that the parties in the Morea are nominally united, I shall endeavour to put my post in motion. Captain Blaquiere came out with the loan-contract in nineteen days from England to Zante. He sent it off with all despatch to Argos, and eighteen days elapsed before he received his answer. This will prove to you how much a post is wanted.

Dr. Millingen, out of humanity, had taken a Turkish woman and her daughter into his service. Lord Byron took a fancy to the child and ordered her to be conveyed to England; and, if Lady Byron would not receive her as the associate of his Ada, she was to be educated in

Italy: he had, in fact, resolved to adopt her as his child. She had reached Zante when the husband of the woman, hearing of their arrival there, demanded their restitution. Sir F. Stoven, dreading the destruction of the mother, recommended her to remain, but she refused; they got into a boat and were taken on board the Turkish ship. Some one asked the person who came for the woman whether she had anything to fear; he said no, but that the Englishman who had taken her might not be so fortunate if he fell into Turkish hands.

I shall address the following letter to Hodges:—

Zante, 16th May, 1824.

Dear Hodges,

I HAVE desired Mr. Barff to place in your hands 184 dollars, for the payment of the artillery corps, from the 12th of June to the 12th of July, 1824; also six dollars for the pay of Captain Hutzberg during the said period.

Previous to the lapse of this time the Greek government will, I expect, take the company into their pay.

I am most sincerely yours,

L. S.

P. S.—This money will be charged to the Committee's account.

Should the Committee disapprove of this or any other charge made by me I shall immediately refund the amount.

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXIX.

TO SIR FREDERICK ADAM, &c. &c. &c.

Zante, 14th May, 1824.

Sir,

I HAVE received your letter of the 27th of April last, with its enclosure from the Adjutant-General's office, directing me to proceed to England forthwith, by way of Corfu. I should have immediately attended to this order but that Sir F. Stoven requested of me to proceed hence in the Florida, in charge of Lord Byron's remains, to which I consented.

I have the honour, &c.

L. S.

LETTER LXXX.

TO MR. HODGES.

Zante, May 18th, 1824.

Dear Hodges,

I BEG of you to deliver over to Captain Trelawny's charge one howitzer and three three-pounders, with cartridges and every thing complete for field-service. These guns and this ammunition he will place in the custody of General Odysseus during the pleasure of the general government of Greece. You will also be pleased to deliver to Captain Trelawny a spy-glass and a map of Greece for General Odysseus. Unless Mr. Gill's presence is necessary or useful at Missolonghi, of

which he must be the best judge, I wish him to proceed to Athens with Captain Trelawny. He will take such working-tools with him as he may consider necessary.

I have ordered Parry to proceed forthwith to Missolonghi. He has given me an evasive answer. I construe it to mean that he will not obey the order; I, therefore, request of you and Mr. Gill to take charge of the laboratory.

I have called on Mr. Parry to account for the various sums of the Committee's money which he has expended. His answers are not satisfactory. I have, therefore, to require of you to hold fast all of the Committee's money, and by no means to let it pass into Mr. Parry's hands, unless on the authority of Colonel Gordon, or some duly-qualified person.

I am yours, &c.

L. S.

LETTER LXXXI.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Zante, 19th May, 1824.

My dear B.

BEFORE I quitted Greece I thought it would be right to bid the Greeks a courteous adieu. I have therefore, addressed them as follows:—

“ Greeks,

“ The king, my sovereign, has commanded me immediately to return to England. I obey the royal

mandate ; but friendship requires some parting words, before I bid you a last farewell.

“ Your great ancestors, owing to their mutual jealousies and disunion, lost their liberties. Succeeding generations contemplated their glory with pleasure, and mourned their fall. Europe and America have been blessed by their lights ; while their unhappy descendants have been doomed to eke out their long days in slavery and pain. At last their measure of misery being full, they made a desperate start, rent their bonds asunder, and are free. Experience, then, and long suffering, have taught you the ills that arise from disunion ; and will you again, noble Greeks, plunge yourselves into a sea of troubles ?

“ Your common cry is for money. Money, you say, will secure to you victory and independence. How came it then, that your forefathers routed the Persians, and you the Turks, who were so much richer, and so superior in numbers ? It was because the Persians and the Turks were corrupted by luxury and absolute rule, while the Greeks were poor and free. It is false then to say, that gold or that iron are the sinews of war. These are but the accessories ; the sinews of war are stout hearts influenced by wise leaders, and the virtuous representatives of a free nation.

“ Much is deservedly said against factions. By factions I mean not the party in, nor the party out of administration, but any party who pursue their own interests to the injury of the people. Such are the traitors who are for a foreign king ; who, to disarm the people, to destroy the captains, to keep the nation in awe, and to preserve his unnatural power, must be a tyrant. And

such are the primates and the military leaders, who extort and plunder to satisfy their avarice, their lust, and their ambition. The way to confound these traitors and to put down these depredators is, by organizing a militia; by giving power to the people, who are virtuous and deserve to be free; and by giving importance to their representatives, who have hitherto been doomed to waste their talents and patriotism in obscurity, owing chiefly to their debates not having been published.

“ I am, ever while you remain free,

“ Your most devoted servant,

“ L. S.”

LETTER LXXXII.

TO THE SAME.

Zante, 20th May, 1824.

My dear B.

OUR worthy countrymen in Greece are always ready to render themselves useful to the cause in which they are engaged. My friend, Capt. Humphreys, has just offered to proceed to the seat of government. I seized his offer, and shall give him the following instructions, chiefly concerning the loan:—

“ Zante, 20th May, 1824.

“ Dear Humphreys,

“ I accept, with thankfulness, your offer to proceed to the seat of the Greek government. I know

that your zeal is quicker than my pen, and that you will be ready before these instructions.

“ The principal object of your mission is, to prepare every thing for the ensuing campaign ; to obtain such information connected with the loan, as will enable the commissioners to act on their arrival in Greece ; and to endeavour to persuade the people and the government to put the constitution of the Greek republic in force. It is impossible for me, in a moment, to range over this wide field, I shall, however, give you some hints to act upon.

“ 1. I wish you to read over your plan for the ensuing campaign to the executive and legislative bodies, and to have every article of it well debated. This done, be pleased to call upon the government for their sentiments on this vital question.

“ 2. Desire the government to give you an estimate of the expense of their military and naval forces, for the year 1824.

“ 3. Request of the government to state, what part of the loan they propose to devote to the above purpose.

“ 4. Point out to the government the necessity of adhering to the law they have passed, prohibiting the payment of old debts from the loan.

“ 5. Press upon the government the necessity of getting the revenues of the state placed in the public coffers.

“ 6. Speak to the government about passing a law to make sovereigns current. Inquire of them, if they would wish money to be stamped for them in England, and if so, request of them to send instructions on that head to their commissioners.

" 7. Tell the government, that I have been peremptorily ordered home by the king of England, and that, finding I could not act as a commissioner, owing to the death of Lord Byron, which had invalidated the commission, I have immediately obeyed the royal mandate.

" 8. Recommend the government to keep the above information a profound secret, because a knowledge of the fact would be injurious to the public interest.

" 9. Request of the government to state, in writing, how they propose to pay the interest of the debt. On their punctuality in paying the dividends will depend the character and credit of the nation.

" 10. Solicit the government immediately to appoint three commissioners, to give information relative to the loan. This body should have '*la faculté de proposer et de raisonner, et avec communication de tout ce qui composé le sujet de la délibération sans déterminer.*'

" 11. Advise the government to employ a clever military officer, near the seat of administration, to give them information and counsel in military affairs. Also, to form a corps of 300 artillery-men, for the attack and defence of fortresses, and another of 1,000 regular troops, to be quartered at the seat of government.

" 12. Desire the government to inform you in detail, what they require for the sieges of Patras, Negropont, Lepanto, &c. Recommend them to send round Baron Gilman or Lieut. Kindermann to the fortresses, to make a report on their condition, how they are provisioned, and what cannon, mortars, powder, shot, shells, &c. they possess.

" 13. Speak to the government about Missolonghi. Impress upon their minds the necessity of giving the

Subsists a *home*,—of providing for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the good fight,—of giving assurance, that their arrears shall be hereafter paid, and of furnishing them with regular pay for the future. Unless the government adopt this measure, they had better at once turn this treacherous enemy out of their camp, and declare war against them.

“ 14. Urge the government to endeavour to create dissensions among the Turks, the Egyptians, the Albanians, &c. Let them publish a list of all the wrongs and oppressions which these people suffer under Turkish dominion, and then call upon them to state whether it is for the preservation of such curses that they are to risk their heads and their fortunes.

“ 15. Call to the attention of the government the plan of Captain Hastings for a steam boat. Tell them that it would prove eminently useful in frightening away the Turks from the blockade of the Corinthian gulf, of the fortresses in Negropont, &c.

“ 16. Explain Captain Trelawny's plan to the government. Let them endeavour to get some English or American Privateers, to harass the Turkish ships and their coasts. To this end they must appoint some naval port for the fitting out of such vessels, a cash-market for the disposal of prizes, bounty-money for ships that are destroyed, head-money for prisoners taken, and an admiralty court. The government should address Mr. Roscoe, of Liverpool; Mr. Eckford, of New York; and Mr. Godwin, of Baltimore, on this subject, and send commissions to them empowering them to act without delay. The government must endeavour to prevent all piracies. They cost the state dear and throw odium on it.

“ 17. Demonstrate to the legislative body the necessity of their assuming a high station in the republic, and recommend them to have their proceedings published.

“ 18. Desire the government to send to Athens for the lithographic press, the moment some one is instructed by Mr. Gropius or Gill, in the art of printing with it.

“ 19. Tell the government and the legislative body that I am ready to establish my post IMMEDIATELY, and that Dr. Marcies is to conduct it. No delays on this head. Marcies will be at the seat of government in a fortnight.

“ 20. Declaim boldly before the legislative and executive bodies against the traitors who, while they profess to be ‘ *les Amis des Loix*,’ are sily plotting against the republic. I allude to those who are conspiring in the dark to place a foreign king over the Greek people.

“ 21. Prove to the representatives of the commonwealth, the necessity of coalescing and forming an administration, comprising all the various interests of the state. Urge them to act on the principles of the constitution, and of the greatest good of the greatest number.

“ 22. Desire the government to instruct the editors of papers to send their sheets to all the Prefects. The government should pay the prime cost of the said papers—say one dollar a year for each paper sent to each Prefect. Desire the government also to solicit the editors to declaim against all extortion and intrigue, and against the violators of the laws and of the constitution.

“ 23. Advise the government to send Kalergi and Mr. Finlay on a mission to America.

" 24. Inquire of the government what measures they propose to pursue with regard to the laboratory.

" 25. Demand of the government what part of the stores brought out in the Florida they require.

" 26. Obtain a plain and satisfactory answer to each of these questions, and take it down in writing. Then forward one copy to the Committee and another to Col. Gordon."

Success to you, and believe me,

Yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXXIII.

TO PRINCE MAVROCORDATO.

Zante, May 20th, 1824.

My dear Sir,

My cordial thanks are due to you for your kind letter. [Vide Appendix, No. 47.]

I request your sanction for the delivery of 3 three-pounders, and 1 howitzer, with the necessary ammunition to General Odysseus; likewise of a map of Greece. Captain Trelawny will take charge of these articles.

I am anxious to see your letter which appeared in the Greek Chronicle, and was alluded to in your last communication. My political opinions may be expressed in two words. I am for *your* constitution. Every man and measure that leads to that object I embrace. Every man and measure that has a tendency,

either directly and manfully, or indirectly and by intrigue, to counteract the constitution, I condemn, and endeavour, by all possible means, to thwart. Among these bad men, the most odious and black-hearted are those who are intriguing in the dark to saddle on the Greek people a foreign king.

I am, &c.

L. S.

[Vide Appendix, No. 48.]

LETTER LXXXIV.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

Zante, 22d May, 1824.

My dear B.

SHOULD Captain Trelawny convey the four guns from Missolonghi to Athens, I have directed Mr. Barff to pay him fifty dollars, and to place the charge to the Committee's account.

The Egyptian expedition is, they say, to be commanded by the Pacha's son. It is destined against the Morea, and Mahommed Ali is to retain that country, if he succeed in conquering it. The troops are to land at Modon and Coron; 10,000 men are to march on Tripolitza, and 10,000 on Patras. The latter division may easily sweep the plains. The Pacha already possesses Cyprus and Crete.

Mavromichaelis and Niketas have joined the government. Colocotroni held out till the people of Caritena, his own district, obliged him to follow the example.

[Vide Appendix, No. 49.] The spirit of the people, which is in every government what is most important, begins to operate effectually. I attribute this to publicity.

Zante, 24th May, 1824.

On the 23d May Mr. Parry read over to me a report, stating the services he had rendered to Greece at Missolonghi. Towards the end of his lecture Count Gamba and Mr. Hesketh came into the room. I then desired him to proceed to Missolonghi. He refused, saying he had no means of carrying on the public service, and should wait Colonel Gordon's arrival. He continued swaggering and blustering till I told him that I had nothing more to say to him since he had disobeyed my orders.

Captain Blaquiére expects the Committee will send a vessel hither. At Gallexidi they will build a corsair, with a nine-pounder at each end, two moveable masts with sails, and sixteen oars, for one hundred pounds.

Blaquiére has been with me this morning. He is dreadfully alarmed. He has had a moving letter from Mavrocordato. The Turkish fleet is out. The fortresses in Negropont are relieved. The Egyptians and Ottomans are coming on, and the loan is all in Barff's counting-house. My opinion is known to you. The Turkish fleet, when collected, is always master at sea. Their fortresses will, therefore, be relieved, their troops will effect their landings and succeed in their first efforts, but with the winter comes the ebb: then is the time for the Greeks to commence their blockades and sieges, and to march. Judge from experience which is right,

B. or I. Remember there are 150,000 armed men in the Morea.

I am, yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXXV.

TO THE SAME.

On board the Florida, 2d June, 1824.

My dear B.

BEFORE I close my correspondence with you on the subject of my proceedings in Greece, I must give you a statement of the disbursements which I have made in favour of the Greek cause, as well in behalf of the Committee as on my own account:

Subscriptions on my own account.

To fourteen refugee Greeks conveyed from Ancona to Cephalonia	£	s.	d.
	7	0	0
To the formation and support of a Greek artillery corps	100	0	0
To a courier for circulating the Prospectus of the Greek Chronicle	2	0	0
Loan of £100 to Mavrocordato, on account of the Greek fleet. This money was repaid.			
Passage for presses, medicines, &c. from Missolonghi to Cranidi	5	0	0
Paid Lieutenant Klempe for going from Athens to Napoli to get Colocotroni to restore the Committee's stores...	2	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Paid to a Greek courier for the same object	3	0	0
Paid to Lieutenant Klempe for going from Athens to Missolonghi, and returning with a lithographic press, &c.	7	0	0
Paid to Lieutenant Klempe to instruct the art of lithography	4	0	0
Paid to Jacobi, ditto, ditto...	5	0	0
Paid for conveying presses, medicines, &c. from Napoli to Ægina	2	0	0
To Dr. Tindall for a dispensary at Athens, when established	20	0	0
To Dr. Meyer for the Greek Telegraph...	30	0	0
To ditto Greek Chronicle...	60	0	0
To the Editor of the Athens Free Press...	70	0	0
To the Editor of the "Ami des Loix"....	20	0	0
To the Editor of the Ipsara Gazette, when published	50	0	0
To the Philo-Muse Society at Athens....	20	0	0
To the Lancasterian School at Athens	20	0	0
To the Lancasterian School at Missolonghi, when established	10	0	0
Towards the expenses of a Post, when established	50	0	0
To paper for printing the Greek Constitution	10	0	0
<hr/>			
Subscribed by me to the Greek cause..	£497	0	0

You may see, by my furnishing you with the above account, that I do not good by stealth, but that, on the contrary, I take pleasure in making it known.

Disbursements made by me on behalf of the

<i>Greek Committee</i>	£	s.	d.
To Dr. Meyer for the Greek Telegraph...	30	0	0
To ditto Greek Chronicle...	30	0	0
To the Editor of the Athens Free Press...	30	0	0
To the Lancasterian School at Athens....	20	0	0
To the Editor of the Ipsara paper, if published.....	30	0	0
To Captain Trelawny for conveying four guns, &c. to Athens, 50 dollars....	10	0	0
To the payment of the Artillery corps from the 12th of June to the 12th of July, 190 dollars	38	0	0
<hr/>			
Total..	£188	0	0

In addition to these sums, I have also desired the Philo-Muse Society at Athens to select and send to England some highly gifted person, for the purpose of being instructed, at the Committee's expense, in the most improved systems of education, and conveying back to and spreading in Greece this knowledge.

I must now beg of you to return my thanks to the Committee for having placed such large funds at my disposal. [Vide Appendix, No. 50.] Had I been earlier honoured with their commands on this subject, I should have expended to a larger amount. For all sums disbursed on behalf of the Committee I consider myself entirely responsible, and am ready to refund them if not fully approved by their superior judgement.

I am, yours,

L. S.

LETTER LXXXVI.

TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL, &c.

Downs, on board the Florida, 29th June, 1824.

Sir,

On my arrival at Zante, on the 12th May, 1824, from the Peloponnesus, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir F. Stoven put into my hands a letter from the Deputy-Adjutant-General of the 19th of March last. By this communication it appeared that the King of England had cancelled the leave of absence granted to me; and that His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief had commanded me to proceed home by way of Corfu without delay, under pain of His Majesty's severest displeasure.

After perusing the Deputy-Adjutant-General's letter, Sir F. Stoven recommended me to go home in the Florida. I reminded him that my order was to proceed by way of Corfu. He overruled the objection, saying that I should act up to the spirit of the order, and he would take upon himself the responsibility. I thought his advice good. Two days after my arrival at Zante I reported myself ready to start in the Florida. I then did all in my power to hasten her departure, and embarked before she was ready to sail.

On the 25th of May last the Florida got under weigh for England, and I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, that I reached the Downs this night.

This explanation will, I hope, prove to the Duke of York how eager I was to obey the King's mandate, and how painful was to me the threat of His Majesty's severe displeasure.

However badly I may have been represented, permit me to assure you that the first desire of my heart has ever been, in Greece as elsewhere, to deserve the esteem of mankind, my country, and my king.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

L. S.

[Vide Appendix, No. 51.]

LETTER LXXXVII.

TO J. BOWRING, ESQ.

On board the Florida, 29th June, 1824.

My dear B.

THE under-written letter is addressed to Lord Byron's executors. I pray you to send copies of it to the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird and to Mr. J. C. Hobhouse.

TO THE LATE LORD BYRON'S EXECUTORS.

" Downs, off Deal, Florida, 29th June, 1824.

" Dear Sirs,

" THE death of your friend Byron occasioned
" a shock that was felt by every heart in Greece.
" There, moved by early recollections, and surrounded

“ by classic scenery, the poet's faculties expanded,—
“ his genius glowed, and he wrote like one impassioned
“ and inspired ; there, too, with electric sparks, he had
“ roused the dormant spirit of freedom, and had sacrificed to her his comforts, his fortune, and his life.

“ After so glorious a course had terminated in death,
“ it was good—it was just for Greece to mourn for
“ Byron, and to confer honours on his memory. All
“ this took place. Funeral rites and orations were pronounced, and Athens and Missolonghi contended for
“ the honour of having his remains deposited in the
“ land where he had flourished and sunk. Many, even
“ of Lord Byron's countrymen, thought that his body
“ should be placed in the temple of Theseus. Ulysses
“ was also of this opinion, and desired me to forward a
“ letter, by express, to Missolonghi, soliciting his ashes.
“ I did so ; but the body had then reached Zante, and
“ it was determined that it should be sent to England
“ for public burial, either in Westminster-Abbey or in
“ St. Paul's.

“ On my arrival at Zante, I was requested, by the
“ governor and others, to take under my care the remains of Lord Byron and his papers, and to accompany them, in the Florida, to England. I accepted
“ the charge, and have reached the Downs.

“ The executors of Lord Byron will now be pleased
“ to make arrangements for the interment of his body,
“ and for the reception and examination of his papers.

“ With respect to the funeral ceremony, I am of
“ opinion that Lord Byron's family should be immediately consulted ; that sanction should be obtained for

“ the public burial of his body; either in the great
 “ Abbey or Cathedral of London; that the state barges
 “ should be sent down the river to receive the corpse,
 “ the principal mourners, and bands for the performance
 “ of sacred music; and that the aquatic procession
 “ should pass on to Westminster-Bridge. There a
 “ hearse should be in readiness to convey the body to
 “ its last place of repose.

“ Britons, who cherish genius and who love liberty,
 “ will, I doubt not, crowd to the banks of the Thames,
 “ and to her majestic bridges, to behold the passing
 “ scene, and to sigh for the mighty dead.

“ I am,

“ Most faithfully, yours,

L. S.

A coffin of lead and one of wood will be required to put the body into. I think the funeral apparatus cannot be too plain, or the crowd too great. This, to my taste, would constitute true grandeur. The late Lord Byron's physician, his maître-d'hôtel, valet, groom, and courier, are on board the Florida.

Should you have any remittance of the loan to send out, you cannot do better than to forward it by the Florida. The captain and his ship are both excellent.

Yours,

L. S.

Creek, Florida, 31st June, 1824.

P.S. We have just reached the Creek. To-morrow morning we hope to be released from quarantine; that

night I shall be in London, and the next morning in your counting-house.

I hope you have made the necessary arrangements for the late Lord Byron's funeral.

I shall, this evening, draw a sketch of the state of Greece. It will be *but* a sketch. However, you must take the will for the deed.

Yours,

L. S.

COLONEL STANHOPE'S REPORT

ON THE

STATE OF GREECE.

*Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Col. Stanhope to
J. Bowring, Esq.*

IN order to understand the policy of Greece, it is necessary to contemplate the state of the Ottoman empire, and the views of Russia and the Holy Alliance.

TURKEY—Is evidently on the eve of its fall. The reigning family is nearly extinct. Its provinces are disunited. Egypt and Tripoli are grown too wise for its government. A portion of Greece is severed from it for ever, and the Hellenists who still bow to the power of Turkey, hate it in their hearts, and pant for revenge and freedom. Even Albania detests, and threatens to throw off, its hateful yoke. The Ottoman armies are insubordinate, and the fleets, having lost their Greek sailors, are become impotent.

RUSSIA. — In this state of tottering decrepitude,

Turkey is threatened by the brawny and disciplined legions of Russia, and the swarms of Persia. While, on the other hand, she is bolstered up by those nations who are alarmed at the ambition and strength of the northern barbarians.

HOLY ALLIANCE.—As for the Holy Alliance, their views are known. This corporation of tyrants has combined to support superstition, to crush all learning, and to ensure a dark futurity, for the purpose of preserving to themselves and their progeny absolute rule. Austria and France have, therefore, become the allies of the barbarians, and have formed a league against civilization and the rights of men. If their policy succeed, they will naturally fall a prey to Russia, the state they have thoughtlessly contributed to aggrandize: or should it fail, instead of being satisfied to reign as virtuous and powerful magistrates, these sovereigns will be humbled, and must bow to the people. The Holy Alliance having decided in the councils of their gloomy cabinet, that all nations should be governed despotically, their intentions towards Greece are known. Some may derive consolation from a consideration of the superior character of European to Asiatic despotism. Towards the upper class it is perhaps milder. The lower orders and the soldiery in Turkey, are, however, *less enslaved* and better off than the boors and mercenaries of Russia.

POLICY OF GREECE.—How is the policy of Russia and the Holy Alliance to be parried by Greece? It cannot be effected by any by-course; for, wily as the Greeks are, the spies, the priests, and the diplomatists of the barbaric league are their match, and will not

allow them to make their approaches underground to the citadel of freedom. With courage, therefore, they must advance; but cautiously, and without giving offence. Meanwhile, let them lay the solid foundations of their rights, and court the friendship of England, of America, and of all who love virtue. Whatever may then be the fate of the Greek people, whether dependent or independent, whether republican or monarchical, they will have taken the best means for promoting their liberties and their happiness.

The public departments in Greece next claim your consideration.

THE EXECUTIVE BODY has hitherto been composed of men of various characters. At one time influenced by Mavrocordato, when the Primates, the Fanariots, and the foreign interests predominated. The leading features of the government were then order, and some say intrigue. At another time Colocotroni obtained, by his martial fame, his riches, and his extensive family connexions, an ascendancy; then prevailed the military power, united at first with the democratic, but afterwards with oligarchical, interests; and, lastly, a sort of league was formed to put down the plunderers. Condariottis was placed at the head of this administration; and the islands assumed their due weight. The Executive Body has hitherto exercised a degree of power that is inconsistent with republican government. The principles of a wild liberty have all along prevailed in Greece, but those of civil liberty are only beginning to be duly appreciated and followed. The depredations of the military chiefs and oligarchs have brought home

to the bosoms of the peasantry the blessings of order, and of security for person and property. They begin with arms in their hands to defend their lands and purses; and they look to their representatives for the proper appropriation of their revenues, and the general direction of their armies and fleets.

THE LEGISLATIVE BODY is composed of persons selected by the civil and military oligarchs and the people. They naturally lean to the interests of their electors. They are respectable in character, but, like most other public functionaries in Greece, are deficient in intellectual aptitude, and have but little knowledge of business. They are friends to order, and enemies to all extortion, and they are careful of the people's money. Nothing could exceed the firmness and dignity of their conduct when attacked by the emissaries of Colocotroni. To raise the character of this body is an object of primary importance. This is to be effected by making the people take a strong interest in the elections; by pointing out to them able men for their representatives; by selecting some important person for their president, and by giving publicity to their proceedings. My exertions have been directed to these ends.

MINISTERS.—Mavrocordato, Negris, Coletti, and others of the ablest Greeks, have filled the office of ministers. When I reached Argos, no minister, except one for the interior, a priest, had been appointed. I ventured strongly to animadvert on this neglect, especially at a time when every arrangement was to be made for the appropriation of the loan, and the defence of the country.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—The Byzantine

and parts of the Napoleon codes prevail in Greece. Neither are, however, much attended to, and the administration of justice is in its lowest state. Perhaps this is an advantage to Greece. She has no lawyer-tribe to teaze, impoverish, and enslave her to the end of time; she has no old prejudices and sacred mountains of parchment to get rid of; and she is ready to accept the best code of laws that can be offered. Can she hesitate in accepting one founded on the scrutinizing principles of Bacon, and supported at every step by reasons, the soundness of which are almost mathematically demonstrated?

POLICE.—The police is best supported by the military chiefs, especially at Athens. With the exception of the town of Missolonghi, personal security prevails to a much greater degree than under the Turkish government. Assassinations are extremely rare. Travelers move about with great safety.

PREFECTS.—This is a government of Prefects. Under newly-formed states, it is absolutely necessary that strong power should be vested in certain persons, in every district, and that they should be made responsible for the constitutional exercise of it. Unless these local authorities are established, whatever the vigour of the central control, the distant provinces fall a prey to some despot, or to anarchy. In Greece, the Prefects are ill selected. Instead of having a leading influence in their districts, they are generally the tools of the principal Primates or Captains.

THE PRIMATES are addicted to Turkish habits and principles of government. In the Morea they have great influence. In Eastern and Western Greece, that of the Captains predominates. Hydra is ruled by the

Primates, who are under the dominion of the maritime mob. The government of Spetzia is somewhat similar, but Ipsara is influenced by constitutional maxims. The other islands are under mild administrators.

STATE OF THE GREEK CHURCH.—The ceremonies of the Greek church are tawdry and irrational. The priests, though they possess considerable influence, do not appear to have the same preponderating sway over their flocks that is exercised in some catholic countries. This may be attributed to their poverty and to the counteraction of the Mahommedan religion. Where toleration and a variety of religions prevail, there the power of the priests must be subdued, except within the pale of the established state creed. The Greek priests were greatly instrumental in bringing about the glorious revolution. They traversed the country, and enlisted their votaries in the honourable plot; they fought in the ranks of the noble insurgents, and many of them are permanently engaged as soldiers, and some as captains. During the period of their military service, they are suspended from the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions. This rule does not extend to peaceful employments. The vice-president of the legislative body and the minister of the interior are of the clerical order. The priests are industrious. Most of them are engaged in agriculture and other useful labours. The dress of the pastors, when not on duty, in the country, is like that of the peasantry, and they are only distinguished from them by their beards. I everywhere found both the people and the clergy most anxious to receive the Scriptures in their native tongue. This I consider a matter of importance, because the first step towards the

knowledge of any subject must be a right exposition and understanding of the same. By this means, the people will gradually become enlightened; the priests will lose the power of plotting, enslaving, and plundering; superstition will give way; and the dictates of religion will coincide with those of utility.

THE CAPTAINS either are brave men themselves, or are the offspring of brave men, whom the Turks could not subdue, and, therefore, made terms with them, and gave them a sort of feudal tenures. They are, for the most part, descended from cultivators and shepherds. Some of them have been corrupted, by coming in contact with, and exercising sway under, the Turks. In general, they are simple in their manners, are excellent mountain warriors, are keen plunderers, and are cruel only towards their enemies. They lean to democracy, from a love of their wild liberty, from a jealousy of the Primates and Fanariots, and from a dread of being put down by a foreign king. Their passions on this last subject have been well heated.

THE PEOPLE.—The peasantry of Greece possess a large share of rustic virtue. They were within the sphere of Turkey's oppression, but without the sphere of her corruption. Not so with the people of the towns, who, consequently, partake of her vices. This people, but for want of instruction, are as fitted to be free as any nation on earth. And only those who pretend that "the slaves of to-day are not qualified to be freemen to-morrow"—I mean the oligarchs—are unworthy of the blessings of liberty, because they are luxurious, corrupted, avaricious, and tyrannical. I shall not dwell on the virtues of the Greek peasantry, because they are

admitted by all men. Their martial spirit is not inferior to that of the regular soldiery, and some consider them as the stoutest and most formidable warriors in Greece.

VICES.—I shall now speak of some of the defects that predominate in the Greek character.

Avarice is a prevailing vice in Greece. In a despotic government, it is necessary for the slave to be penurious, to hold fast, and to bury his money. Vices are hardly vices under absolute government. There avarice, intrigue, cunning, falsehood, servility, robberies, insurrections, and, sometimes, frightful murders, are the only methods of self-defence. There every thing is confounded, and the sole measure of security is to be found in a perverse application of the principles of utility.

PLUNDERERS.—The Turks taught the Greeks to be plunderers. Their exactions drove the cultivators and shepherds into the mountains, where they lived like wolves, and became freemen, outlaws, and plunderers. The survivors grew warlike, sometimes the terror, sometimes the allies of the Turks, and at last the assisters of Grecian freedom. Such was the origin of most of the Captains. It must not, however, be supposed that the Captains are the only plunderers; many of the Primates possessed power and wealth under the Ottoman rule, and they are as grasping as the soldiers.

INTRIGUERS.—The Greeks, especially those of Constantinople, the Fanariots, excel in finesse, sophistry, political intrigue, and crooked diplomacy. Such are the tactics of absolute governments. They are equally necessary to avoid ruin or to attain fortune. By pursuing this course the Greeks slid into the favour of their

masters, and were, appointed governors of provinces, interpreters, &c. Who then can be surprised that the Greek slave should select the winding path which is surrounded by splendid scenery and leads to the temple of luxury? In a good cause, intriguing politicians can never reach their goal as soon by a zig-zag, as a good man would by a direct, course. Their sly manoeuvres may always be foiled by a bold, straight-forward, and persevering attack.

THE RESOURCES of Greece are great but unexplored. Nature has been bountiful to her; but the Turks, blinded by prejudice and heated by passion, have neglected their true interests and have destroyed her wealth, lands, and liberties,—all have been equally blasted.

AGRICULTURE is in Greece in its lowest state. Here and there the fields are well irrigated, but this is not generally the case. The best means of improving this most useful science would be through the medium of foreign settlers, and by the establishment of an agricultural society and branch farms, for the purpose of demonstrating the first principles of culture, of introducing fresh productions, such as vegetables, artificial grasses, &c. and of improving the breed of cattle, especially of sheep and goats. The vine and the olive, as also the silk-worm, require likewise particular attention.

COMMERCE.—Where there is but small capital, few wants, no security, little probity, and no credit, commerce must stagnate. How is this state of things to be changed in Greece? By good government, by education, by publicity, by the establishment and enforcement of good laws, by great rigour towards pirates, and by the example of a scrupulous integrity on the part of the

administration in all its financial measures ; in a word, by proving to the people and the merchants how much it is their interest to be industrious and honest.

REVENUES.—The people are not oppressed by the amount of taxes, but they are ruined by the manner in which the Captains and the Primates collect them ; by the revenues entering the pockets of these individuals instead of being sent to the exchequer ; by their being appropriated to private purposes instead of being devoted to the protection of their lands and country from the Turks, many parts of which are yearly overrun and destroyed ; and by the occasional unlawful exactions and system of free-quarter pursued by the Captains. What are the remedies for these evils ? The exposure of the abuse and of its fatal consequences ; the acquisition of power on the part of the government, to enable them to force the Captains and Primates to place the revenues in the public coffers ; the enrolment of the people as a militia, hostile equally to foreign and domestic enemies ; and an increased vigour and activity on the part of the representative body.

LOAN.—The Greeks think they have but one want—that of money. This is a false notion, and attended with bad consequences ; because, in every department of the government, all except money is neglected. Endeavours were made to remove this notion by proving that the richest had been subdued by the poorest nations. The Captains are in general averse to the loan, from a dread that it would fall into the hands of their antagonists, and deprive them of power. The rest of the nation look forward to its arrival with a feverish impatience. They think, and with truth, that, if well ap-

plied, it would not only secure their independence but also their freedom. When I was at Argos, measures were taken to bring the subject under the consideration of the government. The sittings of the legislative body were resumed; measures were recommended for the appropriation of the money and for securing the payment of the interest. I will not enter into a detail of these measures, as they embrace nearly the whole field of government. The representatives enacted some wholesome laws. They appeared exceedingly jealous of their power over the people's purse, and as careful of the public money as they proverbially are of their own.

PARTIES.—The political parties in Greece may be said to be three. First, there are the Captains, who look to power and plunder. They generally lean to the democratic interests, as a means of preserving these advantages and of avoiding a master under kingly government. This party have riches and courage, but they have powerful opponents, and can only preserve their interests by ranging themselves on the side of the people—a fact which they *begin* to appreciate. I was always pouring this into their ears, and the military chiefs, therefore, considered me as their particular friend, whereas I was merely consulting the good of the mass. Secondly, there are the Primates and Oligarchs: these, too, are for power and plunder. They look to a foreign king as the means of supporting their influence. The third may be called the national party: they consist of those who are not subdued by the military or civil oligarchs; I mean the peasantry, the merchants, the townspeople, some of the islanders, and a few fine spirits. When invasion has been near, the national party have inclined towards

the military chiefs: when at a distance, they have risen against their extortions. By degrees they gain strength.

EDUCATION.—From what has been stated, it appears that there is a great want of educated men in Greece. This is felt in the representative body, in the administration of justice, in the prefectures, in the army and navy—in short, in every department of the state. By the establishment of schools and publicity, by courting the ingress of settlers and travellers, and the return of enlightened Greeks to their country, this desirable end may in time be obtained.

The defence of Greece now claims your attention.

NAVY.—The Greek navy is composed chiefly of merchant-brigs from Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara. They amount to about eighty sail. These vessels have been maintained partly by private contributions, and the sailors are skilful and brave. The Greek fleet is of the same character as the Greek army. It is not equal to cope with the combined Turkish fleet, but has gained a mastery over it by its superior seamen and tactics. When I say tactics, I allude not to those of a highly organized navy, for in these they are deficient; but there are tactics for irregular fleets as well as armies,—for corsairs and privateers as for guerillas, pindaries, and stratiots. This, too, is the true military and naval policy for Greece to pursue. She cannot cope with the Turks in regular warfare, but she can harass and worry them to death. Greece should have four good frigates, sixty of her own brigs, three or four steam-vessels, some privateers, and a few gun-boats, in commission. She might

then be secure against every maritime power, with the exception of England. Perhaps the Committee might be able to procure for Greece some privateers, a steam-vessel, and a good gun-boat, as a model. One or two good naval officers, who could bend to native prejudices, and submit, with a serene mind, to all sorts of crosses, would be most useful auxiliaries in the cause.

ARMY.—The captains are of humble origin, and many of them are descended from shepherds. They or their forefathers have distinguished themselves by flying from the tyranny of the Turks, by having recourse to arms, and by their light fugitive movements and depredations, which eventually obliged their oppressors to court their alliance. These are the men who, by their courage and constancy, have kept up a spirit of resistance and of martial enterprise in the people; till the nation being highly excited by Turkish oppression, at last broke out in a mad insurrection, and, contrary to all calculation, ended in emancipating themselves. The horrid massacres committed by the Greeks have been urged against *them* with truth, but most unjustly against *their cause*; because the object of their struggle was to put down vice, and to establish a government that would promote virtue. These frightful slaughters have prevented the Turks from treating with their enemies on various occasions: but, on the other hand, they have struck them with terror, and have cleared the country of savages that never could have been their friends, and would always have endangered their freedom. To palliate or to deny these cruelties is, however, a false policy. The Greeks have, therefore, been openly accused of a want of Christian charity; they have pas-

sionately defended their conduct; they have, notwithstanding, been condemned, and are gradually becoming less sanguinary. Witness their conduct at Corinth.

The Captains are, generally, uneducated and simple in their manners; intelligent, brave, and excellent mountain warriors.

The soldiers partake of the vices and the virtues of their superiors, with whom they live on easy terms, and are rarely punished. They are paid very irregularly; and when dissatisfied with their Captains, either rebel or leave them. The troops are better disciplined than at the commencement of the revolution: but are said to be less daring, because the excitement occasioned by wrongs, the love of liberty, the enthusiasm of religion, and the hope of plunder, are more faintly felt. The Greek soldiers are extremely hardy; can make long marches; carry heavy weights on their backs; live constantly in the open air; proceed without magazines; suffer great privations; endure dirt and vermin; and still preserve their high spirits. They are swift as horses, and scarcely tangible; and if a love of liberty can ensure perseverance, almost unconquerable in their wild fastnesses. Every soldier's mind is bent on success; no Greek ever admits the possibility of being again subjected to the Turks. If you talk of millions that are about to pour down into their country, still they never appear dismayed. They tell you calmly that as more come, more will be famished or mowed down by the Hellenists. This gallant feeling is *universal*. *My opinion is, that the struggle, however protracted, must succeed, and must lead to an improvement in the condition, not only of Greece but of Asia.*

OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS.—The Porte has promised to reward her Pachas with the provinces which they shall conquer. The Pacha of Egypt is in possession of Rhodes, and is engaged in the subjugation of Candia, where the fortresses are in his hands, but a brave peasantry are in arms in the mountains. Mahommed-Ali has also engaged to invade the Morea with 5,000 regular and 20,000 irregular troops. This army is to land at Modon and Coron. One division is then to march on Tripolitza, and the other is to move in the direction of Patras, and to sweep the plain. There is reason to hope that Mahommed-Ali will not succeed in this undertaking, because he is jealous and fearful of the Porte; the Mameluke Ibrahim Bey has raised an insurrection against him, his capital has been destroyed by a conflagration in which his arsenal and artillery corps have been consumed: he is engaged in war in Candia, and the plague rages at Alexandria.

Omer-Pacha is directing a corps from Joannina, on Western Greece and Missolonghi.

The Pacha of Scoudra is destined for Acarnania and Ætolia.

The Turkish and Egyptian fleets are in sufficient force to relieve the fortresses in Greece. This will continue to be the case till the Greek fleet is rendered more efficient and constantly employed.

DEFENCE OF GREECE.—I submitted to the consideration of the Greek government the following plan, partly founded on the suggestions of Odysseus.

There are two great roads by which the Turks can invade liberated Greece from the north. One by Zei-touni and the other by Arta. The troops of the republic should be placed as follows:—

	Troops.
EASTERN GREECE. —At Hatheda, near St. Marina	1500
A detached body to cut the communication between Larissa and Zeitouni	500
To defend the four passes of Thermopylæ....	2000
The flat between the sea and Thermopylæ should be defended by field works, and	1000
In the province of Neopatra	3000
At Athens, the fortress of which is efficient ..	300
At Negropont, to protect the country till an efficient blockade can be established	1000

Total for Eastern Greece.. 9800

REMARKS.—Twelve thousand Olympians are ready to rise against the Turks, provided they are furnished with pay for one month, and a sufficient quantity of powder and lead. If these insurgents could be supplied from the sea, they would form a powerful diversion in the rear of the invaders.

The Greek fleet, Odysseus thinks, should be placed in the vicinity of Ipsara, to intersect all the Turkish armaments. I am of opinion that the Greek navy should never take up a position till they have a superiority over the enemy's squadrons; till then they should spread and devastate like their armies.

	Troops.
WESTERN GREECE. —In the district of Marrenorso 5000 men, namely, in the defiles....	3000
And in the neighbourhood.....	2000
At Missolonghi, besides the brave townsmen..	400
At Anatolico ditto ditto....	50
At Lepanto, till the blockade is effected.....	50

Total number of Troops for Western Greece 5500

	Troops.
PELOPONNESUS.—For the blockade of Patras and the defence of the plain	2000
For Gastouni and Pyrgos.....	500
For Vostitza.....	300
For the blockade of Modon and Coron.....	500
For a corps de reserve at Tripolitza.....	3000
For Napoli di Romania.....	500
For Corinth.....	300
For Navarin.....	300

Total number of troops in the Morea. . 7400

Regular Soldiers.—A battalion of 1000 regular troops should be placed at the seat of government, and an artillery corps of 500 men..... 1500

CANDIA.—To reconquer Candia would require 6000

Gross total, of regular and irregular troops, for Eastern and Western Greece, the Peloponnesus and Candia, 29,700

GENERAL REMARKS.—Besides the above troops, the government should organise the entire people, and form them into a militia or national guard. The most faithful and brave men of each village and town should be selected as officers. The troops should be mustered and exercised every Sunday, and they should be at all times ready to turn out against either domestic or foreign enemies. When the country is in a more organized state, I should recommend the adoption of the military system which I submitted to the consideration of Odysseus.

SIEGES.—Every thing necessary for the sieges should

be prepared. Without this, or a naval superiority, Patras, Negropont, and Lepanto, never can be taken, nor Greece rendered secure. The resources of the Island of Negropont, and of the fine plain in the neighbourhood of Patras, would alone enable the Greeks to carry on the war.

MILITARY MEN ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT.—The necessity of appointing a good officer in the executive body, one in the war department, and one scientific military man about the government, was strongly urged by the Committee's agent.

NEUTRALITY.—I have been removed from my duties in Greece by the King of England's commands. Need I say how painful to me is the sovereign's displeasure, and how injurious to my fortunes? His Majesty's ministers have, however, resolved to preserve neutrality towards the belligerent states.—Not a fictitious, but a rigid, honest, conscientious neutrality. They will not expose their still suffering country, with its perilous debt, to a general war. I admire their wisdom. We must not, however, graft evil on good; we must not confound the rights of individuals with a fair neutrality as regards the state. England must not break its faith towards other countries, nor crush the ancient liberties of its subjects. Till now, wherever Freedom has stretched forth her suppliant and sinewy arms, Britons have attended the summons. I hate the innovation of despotism, and can never admit that the ministers of a free state have a right to domineer over the sentiments and actions of individuals. They have no right to say you shall not feel for the wrongs of Greece, nor aid her with your thoughts or your money. Your blood shall not

curdle at the narration of her woes, nor run wild with pleasure at seeing her chains break, and her people rioting in freedom. You shall not aid her in subduing these natural emotions, by communicating to her your knowledge, morals, religion, and civilization. The ministers of the Holy Alliance may, indeed, have a right to exercise such powers over their masters' slaves, and to command England to follow their example, under pain of their displeasure. But England had better hold up her head, mildly assert her rights, and face her danger, than submit to such doctrines and fall into their chaos of despotism. Britain is still mighty in knowledge, in wealth, in physical force, and the world cannot permanently injure her while she maintains the pre-eminence of superior virtue.

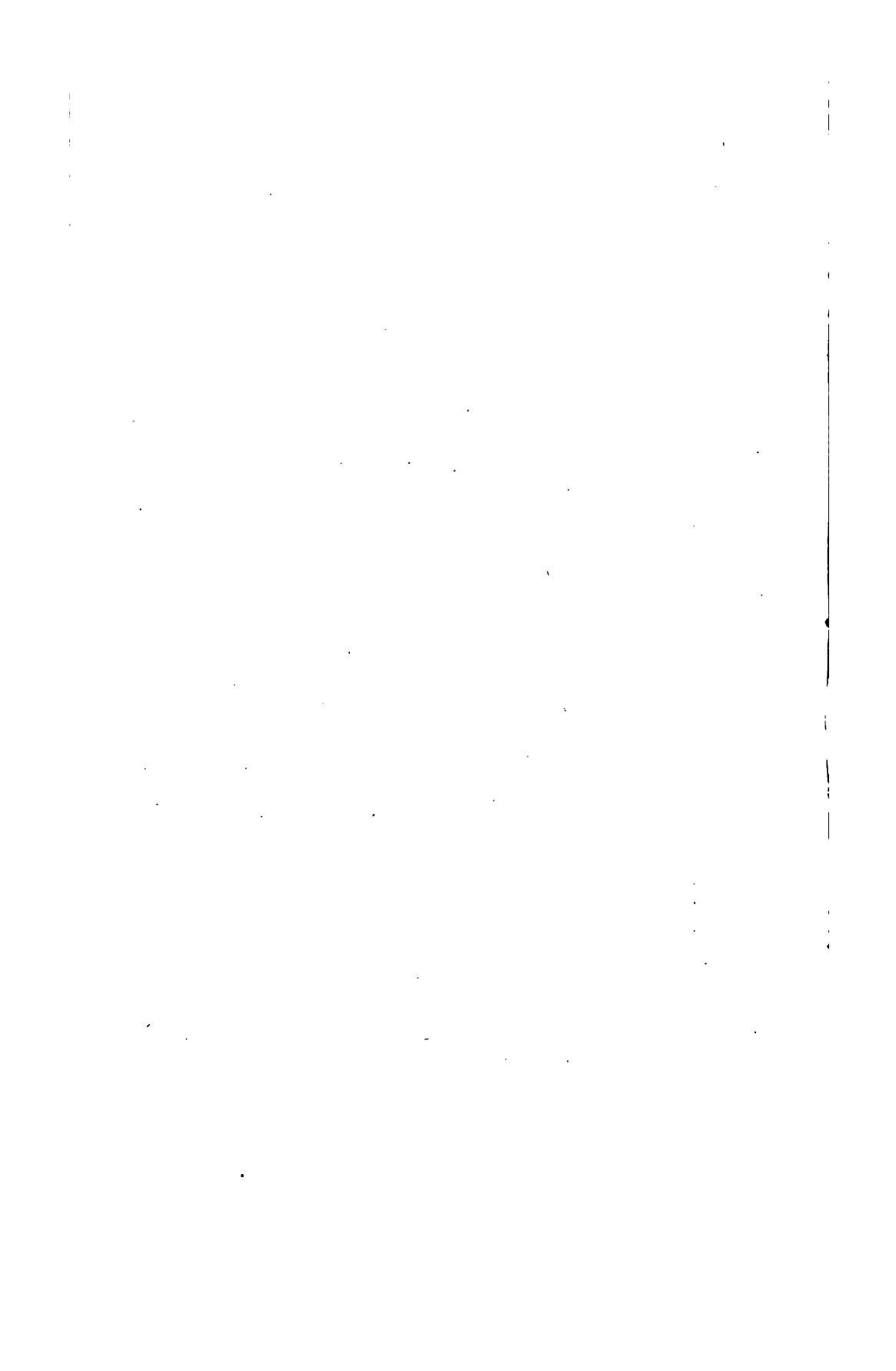
This report is, perhaps, too long, considering the little novelty it contains. I shall conclude it by observing that nothing, according to my experience, could be wiser or more benevolent than the conduct pursued by the Committee towards the Greeks. They have endeavoured to raise their character, and to give an interest to their cause; they have thrown open to them the sources of knowledge, and have aided them in the procurement of a loan which, if well applied, will mainly contribute to their salvation, and on their salvation depend the destinies of the Asiatic world.

I am

Most sincerely yours,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

[Vide Appendix, No. 52.]



APPENDIX.

No. 1.

From Lord Erskine to Colonel Stanhope.

Dear Sir,

HAVING been for some time past in the country, and therefore not in attendance on the Greek Committee, I did not hear, till yesterday, of your truly noble and public spirited intention of representing us in Greece, since the return of Mr. Blaquiere, which, whilst it does you the greatest honour, cannot but be productive of the happiest consequences.

I am most anxious that the interest which we take in the renovation of that illustrious nation should be *generally* felt and understood, and having received several kind and friendly communications from the different committees on the continent, who have signalized themselves in this glorious cause of religion, humanity, and freedom, I avail myself of the most favourable opportunity, by your fortunate presence amongst them, to present them with my humble effort in its support, and I therefore send you a few copies of the letter to Lord Liverpool, which the Prince Mavrocordato has lately so kindly noticed.

I feel an additional confidence and interest in asking this favour of you, from the sincere respect I have so very long entertained, and always must continue to feel, for every member of your family. I shall take the earliest opportunity of sending to you my letter to the Prince

Mavrocordato, and one also to Lord Byron, and shall be much obliged by a line addressed to me *here*, that I may know when you leave London.

I have the honour to be,

Your faithful humble servant,

ERSKINE,

Buchan-Hill, near Crawley, Sussex,

Sept. 21st, 1823.

No. 2.

From the Greek Committee to Lord Byron.

London, 24th September, 1823.

My Lord,

THE Greek Committee have great pleasure in recommending, in the strongest terms, to your Lordship, the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope, who has kindly offered his services to proceed to Greece, to be associated with you as the agent of our Committee; and we have no doubt that his co-operation will be satisfactory to your Lordship, important to the Greek government, and beneficial to the cause.

Col. S. will verbally explain to your Lordship our situation, our resources, and our views. He takes with him a variety of documents and of information, on which he will take occasion to consult you; and as in the course of the journey he will have seen the different continental Committees, we trust a more efficient organization will be adopted than has hitherto had place.

We wait very anxiously for news from your Lordship, and for the arrival of the Greek deputies, when we trust very important results may be anticipated.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants,

JOHN BOWRING, *Hon. Sec.*

ERSKINE,

JOSEPH HUME,

ROBERT LONG.

No. 3.

From the Greek Committee of London to the Philhellene Committees of Darmstadt, Zurich, Stuttgart, and generally of Switzerland and Germany.

London, 24th September, 1823.

Gentlemen,

We have great pleasure in introducing to you a most valuable member of our Greek Committee, the Honourable Colonel Stanhope, who has kindly undertaken to act with Lord Byron as our agent in Greece, and who possesses our full confidence, and our highest esteem.

In his way to Greece he will visit your principal Committees, in order to concert with you the most effective plans of future operations,—to communicate to you the views of the London Committee,—to offer his important assistance in Greece and elsewhere, and generally to co-operate with you in whatever concerns the interest and welfare of the common cause.

We entreat you to honour him with your confidence, and to believe us,

Gentlemen,

Yours, most truly,

JOHN BOWRING, *Hon. Sec.*

ERSKINE,
JOSEPH HUME,
ROBERT LONG.

No. 4.

Observations du Comité des Philhellènes à Darmstadt sur les Questions proposées par M. le Colonel Stanhope.

1. L'emprunt projeté par le gouvernement Grec aura, à ce que nous croyons et espérons, du succès en Allemagne, aussitôt que les amis des Grecs en Angleterre se montreront disposés à y prendre part. Cependant pour que cette affaire réussisse entièrement, il nous paroît indispensable, que les conditions de l'emprunt garantissent aux intéressés les sûretés nécessaires tant à l'égard des capitaux que des

intérêts. Elle réussiroit encore mieux sans doute, si le gouvernement Grec se déterminoit enfin, à donner à l'emprunt négocié en Allemagne par feu le Sieur Kephala la ratification souvent annoncée mais pas encore officiellement prononcée. Cela serviroit à rétablir la confiance du public ainsi qu'à ranimer l'intérêt qu'il prend à la cause des Grecs.

2. Quant aux mesures qu'il convient d'adopter relativement au corps Allemand, parti de Marseille dans le mois de Novembre de l'année passée, et se trouvant actuellement à Napoli di Romania, le comité des Philhellènes à Darmstadt a cru devoir prendre la décision suivante.

Tant qu'il y aura quelque apparence que le corps Allemand, conformément à sa destination originaire, sera employé à l'avantage du gouvernement Grec et qu'il pourra compter sur une existence tant soit peu sûre et supportable, ce corps ne sera point ramené, et on lui fera passer, autant que les circonstances le permettent, les secours, dont il pourroit avoir besoin. Si cependant les démarches, que nous avons faites soit auprès du gouvernement Grec, soit auprès de Lord Byron, n'ont pas le succès désiré, et si le corps Allemand n'est point mis en activité, il sera loisible à chaque individu de ce corps de s'en retourner immédiatement ou de rester en Grèce; et dans ces deux cas chacun recevra, autant que l'état de notre caisse le permettra, des secours soit pour son retour immédiat, soit pour son séjour prolongé en Grèce; mais on ne fera passer à ceux, qui ayant pris le parti d'y rester, seront disposés à s'en retourner plus tard, aucune espèce de secours pour leur retour. C'est conformément à cette décision que nous avons déjà donné à nos fondés de pouvoir les instructions nécessaires.

3. Nous agréons avec plaisir la proposition, d'établir en Grèce une commission commune composée d'un député du comité Anglois, d'un député des comités Allemands et d'un député des comités Suisses, mais ce projet ne pouvant être exécuté qu'avec le concours des autres comités Allemands, nous nous resserrons de nous concerter la dessus préalablement avec eux.

4. L'expérience a démontré, que l'établissement d'une correspondance sûre entre la Grèce et les comités est extrêmement désirable. Nous aurions donc infiniment d'obligation au comité de Londres, qui peut sans doute contribuer le plus à la réalisation d'un pareil établissement, s'il vouloit bien prendre à cet égard les mesures les plus convenables. Car quoique nous eussions vivement recommandé à chaque Philhellène en Grèce, de nous communiquer des nouvelles, et que

nous y ayons souvent écrit nous mêmes, nous avons malheureusement fait l'expérience, que la plupart des nouvelles n'arrivent point à leur destination ou qu'elles n'y arrivent du moins que fort tard. La manière la plus sûre de faire parvenir des lettres de Grece en Europe sera de les adresser à des marchands à Ancone ou Livourne, qui les feront parvenir à leur destination ulterieure. Nous croyons d'avoir fait l'experience que les lettres, qui vont par le royaume de Sardaigne à Geneve n'ont pas été ouvertes ou interceptées.

5. Nous avons déjà formellement déclaré il y a quelques jours au comité de Londres lui même, que nous éprouverions un très grand plaisir, à continuer avec lui les liaisons amicales, qui ont si heureusement subsisté jusqu'ici entre nous; nous ne manquerons donc pas de concourir et de coopérer, autant que possible, à toutes les mesures que le comité de Londres jugera à propos de prendre pour le soutien et le succès de la cause des Grecs.

6. Pour qu'on puisse compter sur la continuation de l'intérêt du public et sur des secours ultérieurs de sa part, il est indispensable—

I. Qu'avant tout le corps des Philhellènes à Napoli di Romania soit placé dans une situation plus avantageuse, c. a. d. qu'il soit employé conformément à sa destination primitive; et que le gouvernement Grec lui assure les subsistances nécessaires.

II. Qu'après l'accomplissement de ces points essentiels les comités prennent les mesures les plus convenables, pour préparer de nouveaux secours au gouvernement Grec et en donner de tems en tems communication au public. Nous croyons cependant devoir faire ici la remarque, qu'à cause des rapports politiques actuellement existants, les comités Allemands seront obligés de procéder dans leurs opérations avec la plus grande prudence et la circonspection la plus délicate.

Darmstadt, ce 6 Octobre, 1823.

Le Comité des Philhellènes à Darmstadt.

[(L.S.) HÖEFFNER, Conseiller de la
Cour Supérieure d'Appel
à Darmstadt, et Président
du Comité Philhellenique.

(L.S.) GOLDMANN, Assesseur de la
Chambre de Finance Supérieure de S. A. R. le
Grand Duc de Hesse,
2^e Secrétaire du Comité
Philhell.

(TRANSLATION.)

Observations of the Philhellene Committee, of Darmstadt, on the Questions proposed by Colonel Stanhope.

1. The loan projected by the Greek Government will, we believe and hope, succeed in Germany as soon as the friends of the Greeks in England shall show themselves disposed to participate in it. In order, however, that this business may obtain complete success, it appears to us indispensable that the conditions of the loan should guarantee to those interested the necessary security as well with regard to principal as to interest. And it would, undoubtedly, succeed much better if the Greek Government were, at length, to resolve to give to the loan negotiated in Germany, by the late *Sieur Kephala*s, the so-often announced, but not yet officially promulgated ratification. This step would serve to re-establish public confidence, and to excite anew the interest which the people take in the success of the Greek cause.

2. As for the measures which it is proper to adopt with respect to the German corps, which left *Marseilles* in the month of November last, and is now at *Napoli di Romania*, the Philhellene Committee of Darmstadt has come to the following resolution.

As long as there shall be any appearance that the German corps, conformably to its original destination, will be employed for the advantage of the Greek Government, and that it may reckon upon an existence, in some degree, safe and supportable, it shall not be recalled, and, as far as circumstances will permit, the necessary assistance shall be forwarded to it. If, on the other hand, the steps which we have taken, both with the Greek Government and with Lord Byron, shall not have the desired success, and if the German corps shall not be placed in a state of active exertion, every individual of the corps shall be at liberty to return immediately or to remain in Greece. In either of these cases, each person shall receive, as far as our resources will permit, assistance, either for his immediate return, or for his prolonged stay in Greece; but those who shall now choose to remain there, and shall, at any future time, feel disposed to return, shall not be entitled to any assistance in furtherance of that object. Conformably to this decision, we have already transmitted to our agents the necessary instructions.

3. We accept with pleasure the proposition to establish in Greece

a common commission, composed of one deputy from the English Committee, one deputy from the German Committees, and one deputy from the Swiss Committees: but, as this project cannot be carried into effect without the concurrence of the other German Committees, we must restrict ourselves, for the present, to concerting with them upon the subject.

4. Experience has demonstrated that the establishment of a safe correspondence between Greece and the Committees is exceedingly desirable. We should, therefore, feel deeply indebted to the London Committee, which is, undoubtedly, able to contribute most effectually towards the realization of such an establishment, if it would take the proper steps for carrying it into effect, for, although we have particularly recommended to every Philhellene in Greece to communicate news to us, and have often written thither, we have learned, by woful experience, that our letters did not, for the most part, reach their destination, or that, at least, they only arrived after a considerable lapse of time. The surest method of transmitting letters from Greece to Europe will be to address them to merchants at Ancona or Leghorn, who will forward them to their ulterior destination. Experience, also, induces us to believe that letters, passing through the kingdom of Sardinia to Geneva, have not been opened nor intercepted.

5. We have already, some days since, formally declared to the London Committee itself, that we should feel the greatest pleasure in the continuance of the amicable connexion which has hitherto subsisted between it and ourselves; we shall not fail, therefore, to concur and co-operate, as much as possible, in all the measures which the London Committee shall think fit to pursue for the maintenance and success of the Greek cause.

6. In order to ensure a continuance of the public interest, and also of ulterior assistance from the people, it is indispensable,

I. That, before all things, the Philhellene corps, at Napoli di Romania, should be placed in a more advantageous situation, that is to say, that it should be employed conformably to its primary destination, and that the Greek Government should secure to it the necessary subsistence.

II. That after the accomplishment of these essential points, the Committee should take the most proper steps to procure fresh aid for the Greek Government, and to give the public, from time to time, an account of their proceedings. At the same time, we think it our duty to observe,

that, in consequence of the existing political relations, the German Committees will be obliged to proceed in their operations with the greatest prudence, and the most delicate circumspection.

Darmstadt, 6th October, 1823.

The Philhellene Committee of Darmstadt.

(L.S.) HOEFFNER, Counsellor of the Upper Court of Appeal at Darmstadt, and President of the Philhellene Committee.

(L.S.) GOLDMANN, Assessor of the Upper Chamber of Finances of H. R. H. the Grand Duke of Hesse, Second Secretary of the Philhellene Committee.

No. 5.

Answer of the Swiss Committee to Colonel Stanhope's Questions.

Après que le très Hon. Monsieur le Colonel Stanhope, agent du Comité des Philhellènes à Londres et recommandé par ce Comité, eût été introduit dans la séance de notre comité d'aujourd'hui, celui-ci a répondu aux questions proposées par Monsieur Stanhope, de la manière suivante :—

1. Le Comité désire que les Allemands et les Suisses, qui se trouvent en Grèce, soient occupés d'une manière adaptée à leur capacité, pour coopérer à l'affranchissement de la Grèce. Il lui parôit indifférent, qu'ils agissent comme corps particulier, ou qu'ils soient employés isolément comme instructeurs des Grecs, dans les travaux de la fortification, dans les arsenaux, etc.

2. Il importe beaucoup au Comité, que ces Allemands et ces Suisses soient occupés d'une manière convenable, qu'ils soient nourris et payés. Les agens du Comité de Londres nous obligeront infiniment s'ils voudront bien, autant que possible, chercher à atteindre ce but conjointement avec l'agent des Comités Suisses.

3. La formation d'un comité de Francs dans la Grèce même, pour la réception des secours et pour veiller à leur distribution, nous

parût fort utile. A ce sujet Monsieur de Reinecke est désigné comme agent des comités en Grèce. Nous nous trouverons très honorés si les agens du Comité de Londres voudront bien se concerter avec Monsieur de Reinecke pour la manière la plus efficace dont on pourroit secourir les Grecs. Le Comité regrette seulement, que par les efforts faits depuis deux années en Suisse, les fonds se trouvent actuellement à-peu-près épuisés.

4. Nous considérons comme absolument nécessaire pour la continuation des efforts des comités, que des arrangemens soient pris, pour pouvoir établir une correspondance régulière avec la Grèce, et pour y envoyer d'une manière sûre les secours en argent, habits, médecines, etc.

5. Si les Grecs réussissent à conclure un emprunt à Londres, nous tâcherons volontiers à lui donner du crédit en Suisse. Mais pour pouvoir le faire avec quelque espérance de succès il seroit nécessaire avant tout, que le Gouvernement Grec fît expédier enfin la ratification de l'emprunt fait par Kephala, montant à 150,000 florins (dont à la vérité il n'a été vendu qu'une très petite partie).

6. Si les comités Suisses pourront contribuer plus tard à l'éducation et à la civilisation du peuple Grec, ils feront tout ce qui est dans leur pouvoir, pour assurer ainsi leur nouvelle liberté.

En cette occasion tous les membres du Comité exprimaient leur joie bien sincère, de ce que d'après les assurances de Monsieur le Colonel Stanhope le peuple Anglais commence à ouvrir ses riches trésors pour le soulagement de la nation Grecque. Puissent ces secours continuer ! Ils sont employés pour un peuple qui possède de grands talens pour les arts et les sciences, et chez qui les germes du Christianisme n'ont pu être extirpés même par la plus grande des tyrannies : chose dont les Suisses se sont assurés particulièrement par la connoissance de 160 malheureux Grecs, qui ont vécu plus de six mois dans la Suisse.

Fait dans la séance du Comité Central des Philhellènes Suisses à Zurich, ce 8 Octobre, 1823.

Le Président J. H. BREMI, Chanoine.

Le Secrétaire, M. HIRZEL.

(TRANSLATION.)

THE Honourable Colonel Stanhope, agent of the London Greek Committee, and recommended by them, having been introduced to

our sittings of this day, this Committee has answered the questions proposed by Colonel Stanhope, as follows:—

1. This Committee is desirous that the Germans and Swiss now in Greece should be employed in a way adapted to their capacity, to co-operate towards the enfranchisement of Greece. It appears to them quite indifferent whether they act as a particular corps, or whether they are employed in an isolated manner, as instructors of the Greeks in the labours of fortification, in the arsenals, &c.

2. The Committee is particularly anxious that these Germans and Swiss should be employed in a proper manner, and that they should be properly fed and paid. The agents of the London Committee will infinitely oblige us, by endeavouring, as far as possible, to attain this object, in conjunction with the agent of the Swiss Committees.

The establishment of a committee of Franks in Greece to receive the succours, and to watch over their distribution, appears to us very useful. For this purpose, Monsieur de Reinecke is appointed agent of the Swiss Committees in Greece, and we shall feel ourselves highly honoured if the agents of the London Committee will concert with Monsieur de Reinecke on the most efficacious means of rendering assistance to the Greeks. The Committee has only to regret that, in consequence of the exertions made in Switzerland during the last two years, its funds are almost exhausted.

4. We consider it absolutely necessary, for the continuance of the efforts of the Committees, that arrangements should be made for the establishment of a regular correspondence with Greece, and for sending thither, in safety, succours in money, clothes, medicines, &c.

5. Should the Greeks succeed in concluding a loan in London, we will willingly exert ourselves to give it credit in Switzerland. But in order to enable us to do this with any hope of success, it would be above all things necessary that the Greek Government should at length complete the ratification of the loan negotiated by Kephalas, amounting to 150,000 florins (of which, in fact, only a very small portion has been sold).

6. If the Swiss Committees shall be able to contribute at some future time to the education and civilization of Greece, they will do all that lies in their power thus to confirm its new-born liberty.

On this occasion all the members of the Committee expressed their

very sincere joy that, according to the representation of Colone Stanhope, the people of England had begun to open their rich treasures for the support of the Greeks. May this assistance be continued! It is given to a people who possess great talents for the arts and sciences, and among whom the seeds of Christianity have been preserved in spite of the efforts of the most abominable despotism, a circumstance which the Swiss have particularly ascertained by the knowledge of 160 unfortunate Greeks, who lived for more than six months in Switzerland.

Done in the sitting of the Central Committee of the Swiss Philhellenes at Zurich, this 8th October, 1823.

President, J. H. BREMI, Canon.

Secretary, M. HIRZEL.

No. 6.

Extract of a Letter from Monsieur Lüscher.

“ Les cent soixante Grecs arrivés au mois de Janvier, 1823, en Suisse, après avoir traversé la Russie, la Pologne, et l'Allemagne, au milieu de l'hiver, et y avoir vu périr de froid et de misère une grande partie de leurs compagnons d'infortune, sont du nombre des Grecs qui se réfugièrent en Russie en 1821. Ces malheureux étoient la plus part marins, cultivateurs, marchands, ou domestiques; deux ou trois seulement d'entr'eux avoient porté les armes. Après des sollicitations répétées, le gouvernement Français leur permit de se rendre à Marseille. Cette permission ne fût donnée abord que pour quarante, qui ne devoient voyager que quatre au plus ensemble, et à deux jours soit soixante-douze heures d'intervalle. Les quatre premiers partirent de Genève, le 25 Mai, et la première expedition de quarante Grecs ne put partir de Marseille que le 7 Juillet; on a appris leur heureuse arrivée à Hydra. En vertu d'une seconde permission, quatre-vingt autres Grecs sont partis de Genève par convois de huit, à soixante-douze heures d'intervalle du 2 Août au 3 Septembre. Le 12 Septembre ces quatre-vingt Grecs se sont embarqués à Marseille. Les trente-neuf Grecs (outre une femme et trois enfans) qui restoient encore en Suisse, ont reçu la permission de

passer par la France par convois de quatre, à soixante-douze heures d'intervalle, et les quatre premiers sont partis de Genève le 9 Octobre. Les autres convois doivent suivre régulièrement. Les frais d'entretien de ces cent soixante Grecs, arrivés en Suisse dans un dénueement complet, ainsi que les frais de leur voyage par la Suisse et la France jusqu'en Grèce, ont été payés entièrement par les souscriptions faites en leur faveur dans tous les cantons de la Suisse. Pour alléger ce fardeau on les avoit disséminés en différentes villes et villages. Le Comité central de la Suisse est à Zurich, où d'autres comités de secours pour les Grecs ont envoyé le produit de leurs souscriptions. C'est la caisse de Zurich qui a payé les frais du séjour et de l'embarquement à Marseille. La première expedition y a coûté 7633 francs de France; la seconde 16050 francs.—Le soussigné en donnant ces détails desire, non de relever ce que les Suisses ont fait pour des Chrétiens, des frères malheureux, mais uniquement d'engager les amis que les infortunés Grecs ont en Angleterre à joindre leurs secours à ceux des Suisses. Il ignore si les principaux comités de secours de la Suisse ont encore en ce moment les fonds nécessaires pour faire face à toutes les dépenses ultérieures; mais, ayant été chargé de l'emploi des fonds provenus de la souscription faite à Genève en faveur de ces cent-soixante Grecs, il doit dire que la caisse de cette souscription est plus qu'épuisée, qu'elle a un déficit ou une dette toujours croissante de plus de deux mille francs de France, provenant de ce qu'elle a eu à supporter les frais de voyage de Genève à Lyon pour tous les cent-trente-deux Grecs qui ont déjà passé, et qu'elle a eu à payer le séjour souvent prolongé de tous ces Grecs sans exception: il y a eu par exemple, depuis plus d'un mois, vingt à trente Grecs à Genève.

L. LÜTSCHER,

Pasteur de l'Eglise Allemande réformée.

Genève, le 15 Octobre, 1823.

(TRANSLATION.)

"The 160 Greeks who arrived in Switzerland in January, 1823, after having traversed Russia, Poland, and Germany, in the depth of winter, and after having seen a great part of their companions in misfortune perish by cold or want, are of the number of those Greeks who took refuge in Russia in 1821. These unfortunate creatures were, for the most part, sailors, agriculturists, shop-keepers, or servants; only two or three among them had ever borne arms. After

reiterated solicitations, the French government at length allowed them to proceed to Marseilles. This permission was given at first for only forty, who were to travel only four together, and with an interval of two or three days between each party. The four first set out from Geneva on the 25th of May, and this first expedition of forty Greeks could not leave Marseilles before the 7th of July: we have heard of their safe arrival at Hydra. By virtue of a second permission, eighty other Greeks set out from Geneva, in convoys of eight persons each, and with an interval of seventy-two hours, between the 2d of August and the 3d of September. On the 12th of September, these eighty Greeks embarked at Marseilles. The thirty-nine Greeks (besides one woman and three children), who still remained at Geneva, have at length obtained permission also to pass through France in parties of four, with an interval of 72 hours; the four first of these set out from Geneva on the 9th of October, and the other parties will follow regularly. The expense of maintaining these 160 Greeks, who arrived in Switzerland in a state of utter destitution, as well as that of their journey through Switzerland and France, and of their voyage back to Greece, has been entirely borne by the subscriptions collected for them in all the cantons of Switzerland. To lighten this burden, they were distributed in different towns and villages. The Central Committee of Switzerland is at Zurich, and thither the other committees, formed for the purpose of assisting the Greeks, sent the produce of their subscriptions. It is the coffers of Zurich which have paid the expenses of their stay in Switzerland and of their embarkation at Marseilles. The first expedition cost them 7633 French francs, and the second, 16,050.

The undersigned, in giving these details, is desirous not to magnify what the Swiss have done for Christians, for brothers in misfortune, but solely to implore the friends of the unfortunate Greeks in England to join their aid to that of the Swiss. He knows not whether the principal committees of Switzerland have at the present moment funds sufficient to meet all the ulterior expenses; but, having been charged with the employment of the funds proceeding from the subscription made at Geneva in favour of these 160 Greeks, he is sorry to say that this subscription is more than exhausted, that it exhibits an increasing *deficit*, or debt, of more than 2000 French francs, proceeding from its having had to bear the expenses of the journey from Geneva to Lyons of all the 132 Greeks who have already

passed, and from its having had to pay for the stay, often prolonged, of all these Greeks without exception: there have been, for example, for more than a month past, from twenty to thirty Greeks at Geneva.

“ L. LÜTSCHER,

“ *Pastor of the German Reformed Church.*

“ Geneva, 15th October, 1823.”

No. 7.

From the Swiss Committee to Colonel Stanhope.

Zurich, ce 19 Octobre, 1823.

Monsieur,

D'après les relations amicales que nous avons mutuellement entamées pendant votre séjour à Zurich, nous nous adressons à vous avec toute la franchise, que demande la loyauté Anglaise et Suisse unies ensemble pour le même but, savoir pour contribuer à la délivrance de la Grèce.

Nous vous avons exposé nos tentatives réitérées, nos espérances, nos erreurs, qui ne dérivait que du manque d'une parfaite connaissance du terrain et des individus qui dirigent les affaires de la Grèce. Mais en même tems nous sommes toujours persuadés d'avoir avantageusement opéré sur l'opinion publique, et d'avoir vraiment fait du bien à la nation Grecque, soit en envoyant sur le théâtre de la guerre des militaires, tels que le Général Normann, et les braves de Zetta, soit en facilitant avec beaucoup de frais le passage des pauvres fugitifs provenant d'Odessa, soit enfin en invitant les Anglais, fournis de beaucoup plus de moyens, à prendre part à nos efforts.

Voyant maintenant quel est le vrai état des affaires, nous vous prions amicalement de vouloir bien vous intéresser au sort des Philhellènes Allemands et Suisses passés en Grèce, ou avant l'expédition de feu M. Kephala, ou avec lui; en contribuant, autant qu'il dépendra de vous, à les faire employer d'une manière convenable ou par le gouvernement national de la Grèce, ou par les divers capitaines, ou enfin—ce que nous désirerions le plus pour leur bien-être—dans les corps, ou dans les établissemens, que vous vous proposez de fonder d'après les intentions de votre société.

Ceux même qui préfèrent de retourner dans leur patrie méritent votre bienveillance ; et peut-être avec le moyen de recommandations aux divers consulats, de passeports, de petits secours pécuniaires, etc. vous pourrez en plusieurs manières faciliter leur voyage, sans dévier de vos instructions. Ce sont de malheureuses victimes.

Sans doute ceux qui, fidèles à leurs engagements et au bât que d'abord ils s'étoient proposé, resteront en Grèce pour combattre les Barbares, doivent nous intéresser davantage. C'est pourquoi nous vous conjurons de faire pour ces braves tout ce qui dépendra de vous et de vos moyens, en les secourant, en les employant selon leur habileté, et en les assurant contre toute sorte de persécutions et de privations.

Pour cet effet nous vous communiquons les instructions détaillées, remises à M. Kolbe, nommé Schrader, député de la légion Philhellène, personnage qu'en tout égard nous jugeons digne de notre pleine confiance, et dans lequel nous sommes sûrs que vous trouverez un homme honnête, bien intentionné et intelligent.

Or il seroit de la plus haute importance, que vous, Monsieur, et le très-honorable Lord Byron, dont le nom seul fait tout l'éloge, entrassiez dans la commission administrative nommée par nous pour soigner les affaires des Philhellènes Allemands et Suisses, en Grèce. Elle est composée de M. de Reinecke, de M. de Dittmar, de M. Bellier de Lounay, et de M. Kolbe. Après avoir examiné les instructions, qui vous seront communiquées par M. Kolbe, sans doute vous en saurez relever nos intentions ; il vous sera facile de modifier tout d'après les circonstances, n'ayant en vue que le vrai bien de la Grèce et des Philhellènes. En vous invitant d'agir de plein concert avec les personnes nommées par nous, nous appellons en toute chose à votre loyauté, à vos propres lumières, et nous sommes sûrs, que vous agirez en vrais Anglais.

Nous n'avons rien à vous offrir, que notre reconnaissance et celle de ceux que vous sauvez. La postérité jugera impartialement de notre volonté, de nos efforts, de nos moyens et des obstacles que nous avons bravés dans ce siècle de fer.

Monsieur ! ce sont des Suisses qui s'expliquent à un Anglais dans un langage qui leur n'est point naturel. N'importe ; le style n'y fera rien ; les idées, les desseins sont les mêmes.

Vous nous comprendrez assez ; et vous ferez respecter et votre nom, et votre nation. Nous espérons que vous réussirez à exécuter ce que depuis longtemps nous avions projeté.

C'est avec la plus profonde estime que nous nous signons, Monsieur,

Vos sincères amis,

*Le Président de la Société Philhellène
Centrale de la Suisse,*

JEAN HENRY BREMI, *Chanoine,*

M. HIRZEL, *Secrétaire,*

JEAN GASPARD ORELLI, *Professeur, Secrétaire.*

Nous vous prions encore, Monsieur, de faire tout votre possible, pour qu'il s'établisse enfin une communication régulière entre nous et la Grèce, soit par la voie de Zante, Ancône, ou Livourne, soit même par celle de Londres.

(TRANSLATION.)

Zurich, 19th October, 1823.

Sir,

IN pursuance of the amicable relations which we have mutually established during your stay at Zurich, we address you with all the frankness which is due to English and Swiss loyalty, united together for the same object, namely, to contribute to the deliverance of Greece.

We have laid before you our reiterated attempts, our hopes, and our errors, which were derived only from the want of a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the individuals who direct the affairs of Greece. At the same time we still feel persuaded that we have acted advantageously on public opinion, and that we have really done good for the Greek nation, as well by sending to the theatre of war military men like General Normann, and the brave soldiers of Zetta, as by facilitating, at a considerable expense, the passage of the poor fugitives from Odessa, and finally by inviting the English, possessed of much more ample means, to take part in our exertions.

Seeing now the true state of affairs, we beg of you, in a friendly manner, to take an interest in the fate of the German and Swiss Philhellenes, who passed over into Greece, either before the expedition of the late M. Kephala, or along with him; by contributing, as much as may be in your power, to get them employed in a proper manner, either by the national government of Greece, or by the various captains; or, finally—what we should desire the most for their well-

being—in the corps, or in the establishments, which it is proposed by your Committee to form.

Even those who shall prefer returning to their own country are deserving of your kind attentions; and, perhaps, by means of recommendations to the various consulates, of passports, of trifling pecuniary assistance, &c. you may be able in many ways to facilitate their journey, without deviating from your instructions. They are unhappy victims.

Doubtless those who, faithful to their engagements and to the object which they originally proposed to themselves, shall remain in Greece to combat the Barbarians, should interest us more particularly. We therefore conjure you to do for these brave men all that your power and your means will permit, by assisting them, by employing them according to their abilities, and by protecting them from all sorts of persecutions and privations.

With this view we communicate the detailed instructions transmitted to M. Kolbe, named Schrader, Deputy of the Philhellene Legion, a person whom we judge in all respects worthy of our entire confidence, and in whom we are sure that you will find an honourable, well-intentioned, and intelligent man.

Now, it is of the highest importance that you, Sir, and the Right Hon. Lord Byron, whose name alone is a sufficient panegyric, should form part of the Administrative Commission named by us to take care of the affairs of the German and Swiss Philhellenes in Greece. It is composed of M. de Reinecke, M. de Dittmar, M. Bellier de Lounay, and M. Kolbe. After having examined the instructions which will be communicated to you by M. Kolbe, you will doubtless be able clearly to perceive our intentions; it will be easy for you to modify every thing according to circumstances, having in view only the true good of Greece and of the Philhellenes. In inviting you to act in perfect concert with the persons named by us, we appeal in every thing to your loyalty, to your own understanding; and we are satisfied that you will act like true Englishmen.

We have nothing to offer you but our gratitude, and that of those whom you will save. Posterity will judge with impartiality of our wishes, of our exertions, of our means, and of the obstacles which we have braved in this iron age.

We are Swiss, Sir, who explain ourselves to an Englishman in a foreign language; but, no matter; the style is of no consequence, the ideas and the intentions are the same. You will sufficiently un-

derstand our meaning, and you will confer respect on your name and on your nation. We hope that you will succeed in executing what we had long projected.

With the most profound esteem we subscribe ourselves, Sir,

Your sincere friends,

The President of the Philhellene

Central Society of Switzerland,

J. H. BREMI, *Canon,*

M. HIRZEL, *Secretary,*

JEAN GASPARD ORELLI, *Professor, Secretary.*

We again beg of you, Sir, to do all in your power to effect the establishment of a regular communication between us and Greece, either by way of Zante, Ancona, or Leghorn, or even by that of London.

No. 8.

Instructions of the Swiss Committee to the General Committee in Greece.

LA Société Philhellène centrale de la Suisse, après avoir mûrement délibéré sur les communications faites par M. Kolbe, nommé Schrader, député de la légion auxiliaire Allemande, en Grèce, a vu avec un profond regret la situation critique des Allemands et des Suisses passés outre-mer; considéré surtout qu'ils n'ont point atteint le but qu'ils s'étoient eux-mêmes proposé dans leur entreprise, non moins que les sociétés Philhellènes en les secourant avec tant de sacrifices pécuniaires. Or le désir le plus ardent des Comités Suisses est, que ces relations puissent se changer en mieux; que par le moyen des représentations faites au gouvernement national de la Grèce, et par l'intervention des très-honorables commissaires du Comité Philhellène de Londres, nos Philhellènes se voient mis dans un état plus avantageux, où ils puissent mieux co-opérer à la délivrance de la Grèce, soit en formant un corps à part, soit individuellement comme ingénieurs, comme instructeurs ou comme ouvriers dans l'arsenal qu'on se propose d'établir, ou dans les fortifications, &c. de manière qu'enfin ils deviennent vraiment utiles à la Grèce.

La Société centrale de la Suisse auroit bien désiré de pouvoir contribuer à ce but de la manière la plus efficace, si ses fonds n'étoient

point épuisés par l'entretien des 162 Grecs fugitifs d'Odessa ; ainsi c'est uniquement à l'aide du Comité de Stutgard, qu'il lui est devenu possible de fixer pour les besoins des Philhellènes Allemands et Suisses en Grèce la somme de 1000 florins de Zurich (cent Louis) laquelle par une lettre d'échange sur Ancone sera encaissée et transportée en Grèce par M. Kolbe, nommé Schrader, député du corps Philhellène.

Quant à cette somme de cent Louis et aux objets expédiés en Grèce par les Comités, l'on observera les mesures suivantes :

1. M. de Reinecke, agent des Comités, M. le Capitaine de Dittmar, M. le Lieutenant Colonel Bellier de Lounay, et M. Kolbe, en consultant et s'associant les deux commissaires du Comité de Londres, savoir les très-honorables Lord Byron et le Colonel Stanhope formeront une commission administrative, qui délibérant à voix égales par membres disposera de tout ce qui sera confié à sa direction. En cas que les deux commissaires Anglais, ou l'un d'eux n'y voulussent prendre aucun part, la légion Philhellène nommera elle-même à la pluralité des suffrages les deux autres membres de la commission.

2. Cette commission administrative formera une liste exacte de tous les militaires Allemands et Suisses, qui actuellement se trouvent en Grèce, soit qu'ils y soient arrivés avec feu M. Kephalas, ou avant lui, soit qu'ils soient entrés dans la légion Philhellène de Kephalas, ou bien dans quelque corps Grec, ou enfin attachés au service d'un capitaine quelconque. La commission calculera d'après cette liste, quelle quote de ces 1000 florins ou cent Louis reviendra à chaque Philhellène par tête à parties égales.

3. Nul Philhellène n'aura le droit de prétendre, que la quote qui lui reviendra de la susdite somme, lui soit remise en argent comptant ; la commission administrative emploiera plutôt cette quote avec la plus grande précaution pour satisfaire elle-même aux besoins les plus urgents de chacun, soit qu'il veuille rester en Grèce, soit qu'il préfère de retourner dans sa patrie. Dans ce dernier cas surtout la commission administrative emploiera la quote respective à faciliter les frais du naulage pour chacun.

4. Si une partie des Philhellènes désiroit de retourner, la commission administrative prendra toutes les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher qu'ils ne s'embarquent pas contemporanément sur un seul vaisseau pour le même port de mer ; puisqu'il est indispensable, que cet embarquement se fasse sur plusieurs bâtimens et pour divers ports.

5. La commission administrative fera toutes les démarches néces-

saires auprès du gouvernement national de la Grèce, auprès du sénat d'Hydra, et auprès des individus Grècs qui jouissent de la majeure influence, pour que les divers secours expédiés en Grèce par les Comités Philhellènes soient employés et administrés selon leur destination primitive.

(a). Les 5000 francs, que M. le Conseiller de Commerce Hoffmann a remis à feu M. Kephalas d'Olympe pendant son séjour à Marseille, et que le Comité de Darmstadt à pris sur le compte de ses propres contributions volontaires, étoient uniquement destinés à servir en cas de besoin comme denier de réserve pour les Philhellènes Allemands et Suisses. Jamais donc ils n'étoient la propriété particulière de feu M. Kephalas; et par conséquence personne n'avoit le droit de les saisir après sa mort conjointement au reste de sa succession. Il faudra par conséquent réclamer sérieusement cette somme et la commission l'administrera come denier de réserve pour soulager les Philhellènes Allemands et Suisses.

(b). Les draps, les habits, et les médicamens, qui se trouvent dans le magasin fourni à l'expédition de feu M. Kephalas sont destinés pour l'habillement et pour le soulagement des Philhellènes qui en auroient besoin.

(c). Les divers matériaux et les outils compris dans ce même magasin sont destinés à construire et à fabriquer, par des ouvriers habiles, les objets dont le corps Philhellène peut avoir besoin, ou qui pourront devenir utiles à la Grèce délivrée.

(d). Tant les armes envoyées en Grèce conjointement au susdit magasin, que les 2000 fusils, less 700 gibernes, les 53 arquebuses rayées, et les instrumens de musique, qui selon le reçu ci-joint en copie sont arrivés à Hydra, le 14 Avril, 1823, ont été achetés par les Comités à l'aide de contributions volontaires, nommément le Comité d'Aarau en Suisse a pris sur son propre compte 1000 fusils, dans l'intention que le gouvernement national de la Grèce et la légion Philhellène pût les remettre aux Grecs, qui disciplinés à l'Européenne et combattant avec la bayonnette, auroient formé des corps réguliers, soit en se joignant à la légion Allemande, soit au régiment Grec. Il est donc tout à fait contraire aux vues des Comités, que ces armes se trouvent encore à Hydra. C'est pourquoi la commission administrative les réclamera sur le champ de la part du Sénat d'Hydra, et elle les emploiera avec l'intervention du gouvernement Grec national selon la destination indiquée ci-dessus.

(e). Les instrumens de chirurgie envoyés en Grèce par les Comités

ont été destinés à l'usage des médecins employés auprès de la légion Allemande ou auprès quelque corps Grec, ou au service des hôpitaux.

Les armes, les outils, les matériaux et les instrumens de chirurgie expédiés en Grèce par les Comités ne seront jamais vendus sous aucun prétexte ; mais en cas que les Philhellènes, p. e. à l'occasion de leur retour, ne fussent plus en état d'en faire usage, ils seront remis à leur vrai propriétaire, savoir le gouvernement national de la Grèce.

La commission administrative se fera un devoir de donner tant aux objets susmentionnés, qu'aux secours qui pourroient en avenir être envoyés en Grèce, la direction la plus conforme au but principal des Comités.

6. La commission tiendra compte exact des sommes qui lui ont été confiées, et les Allemands et les Suisses auront le droit de le voir librement ; de plus, elle le communiquera aux Comités et les informera de la manière dont les secours sus-mentionnés auront été employés.

7. La commission administrative fera tout son possible, pour que les Philhellènes soient mis dans une activité convenable à l'habileté de chacun, soit en formant un corps à part, soit individuellement. Si jamais des nouvelles avantageuses, qu'on en recevra, exciteront de nouveau l'intérêt du public, et que la commission aura pris les directions nécessaires pour recevoir avec sûreté ce qui lui sera envoyé de la part des Comités, comme pour pouvoir en disposer selon leurs ordres, alors seulement il sera possible d'envoyer peut-être de nouveaux secours aux Philhellènes. Cependant la société centrale de la Suisse ne peut maintenant prendre aucun engagement positif sur ce point.

Nous désirons beaucoup que les obstacles, qui jusqu'à présent se sont opposés à l'activité des Philhellènes puissent se diminuer ; que ces braves restent fidèles à leur premier dessein d'aider les Grecs dans leur lutte contre les tyrans. Puisse cette genereuse résolution devenir enfin vraiment utile à la Grèce, et faire honneur aux Comités, qui l'ont secourue de toutes leurs forces.

Donné dans notre séance du 15 Octobre, 1823.

*Le Président de la Société Philhellène
Centrale de la Suisse.*

JEAN HENRY BREMI, *Chanoine.*

M. HIRZEL, *Secrétaire.*

JEAN GASPARD ORELLI, *Professeur,
Secrétaire de la Société.*

Zurich,

19 Octobre, 1823.

TRANSLATION.

Instructions.

THE Central Philhellene Society of Switzerland, after having maturely deliberated on the communications made by M. Kolbe, named Schrader, deputy of the auxiliary German Legion in Greece, has seen, with profound regret, the critical situation of the Germans and Swiss who have passed beyond seas; especially considering, that they have not attained the object which they had proposed to themselves in their enterprize, no less than the Philhellene Societies which have assisted them with so many pecuniary sacrifices. Now, the most ardent desire of the Swiss Committee is, that these relations may be ameliorated; that by means of representations to the National Government of Greece, and by the intervention of the honourable agents of the Greek Committee of London, our Philhellenes may be placed in a more advantageous situation, in which they may more effectually co-operate in the deliverance of Greece, either by forming a separate corps, or by acting individually as engineers, as instructors, or as workmen in the arsenal which it is proposed to establish, or in the fortifications, &c. so that they may at length become useful to Greece. The Central Society of Switzerland would have been anxious to contribute to this object in the most effectual manner, had not its funds been exhausted by the maintenance of 162 Greeks, fugitives from Odessa; so that it is only by the assistance of the Stuttgart Committee, that it has been enabled to raise, for the necessities of the German and Swiss Philhellenes in Greece, the sum of 1000 florins of Zurich (a hundred Louis), which, by a letter of exchange on Ancona, will be received and transmitted to Greece, by M. Kolbe, named Schrader, Deputy of the Philhellene corps.

With respect to this sum of a hundred Louis, and to the objects transmitted to Greece by the Committee, the following measures are to be observed.

1. M. de Reinecke, agent of the Committee, Captain de Dittmar, Lieut. Col. Bellier de Launay, and M. Kolbe, consulting and associating with themselves the two agents of the London Committee, that is to say, the Right Hon. Lord Byron and Col. Stanhope, will form an administrative commission, which, deliberating with an equal voice in each member, will dispose of every thing that shall be entrusted to its direction. In case the two English Agents, or one

of them, refuse to take any part in it, the Philhellene Legion will itself name the two other members of the Commission by a plurality of voices.

2. This Administrative Commission will form an exact list of all the German and Swiss soldiers actually in Greece, whether they arrived there with the late M. Kephalas, or before him, whether they have entered into the Philhellene Legion of M. Kephalas, or into any other Greek corps, or have attached themselves to the service of the Capitani. The Commission will then calculate, from this list, what portion of these 1000 florins, or 100 Louis, will be the share of each Philhellene, divided equally among them all.

3. No Philhellene shall have any right to claim that his share of the aforesaid sum should be paid him in ready money; the Administrative Commission shall rather employ this share itself, with the greatest precaution, to satisfy the most urgent wants of each of them, whether he chooses to remain in Greece, or prefers returning to his own country. In this latter case, more especially, the Administrative Commission shall employ the respective shares to facilitate the expense of passage for each.

4. If any portion of the Philhellenes is desirous of returning, the Administrative Commission will take the necessary steps to prevent their embarkation contemporaneously in a single vessel for the same port; for it is indispensable that this embarkation should be effected by degrees, in several vessels, and for different ports.

5. The Administrative Commission will take all the necessary steps with the National Government of Greece, with the Senate of Hydra, and with those Greeks who possess the greatest influence, to ensure that the different aids sent to Greece by the Philhellene Committees shall be employed and administered according to their primary destination.

(a). The 5000 francs remitted by M. the Counsellor of Commerce, Hoffmann, to the late M. Kephalas, of Olympus, during his stay at Marseille, and which the Darmstadt Committee has placed to the account of its own voluntary contributions, were solely destined to serve, in case of necessity, as a reserve for the German and Swiss Philhellenes. Consequently they never became the property of the late M. Kephalas, and no person had a right to take possession of them after his death, conjointly with the rest of his effects. It will be necessary, therefore, seriously to demand this sum, and the Commission

will administer it as a reserve for the relief of the German and Swiss Philhellenes.

(b). The cloth, dresses, and medicines, which are in the magazine, furnished to the expedition of the late M. Kephalas, are intended for the clothing and relief of such of the Philhellenes as may be in want of them.

(c). The various materials and tools, contained in the same magazine, are intended for the construction and fabrication, by skilful workmen, of the objects of which the Philhellene corps may stand in need, or which may become useful to liberated Greece.

(d). The arms transmitted to Greece, in conjunction with the aforesaid magazine, as well as the 2000 muskets, the 700 gibernes, the 53 rifles, and the musical instruments, which, according to the receipt, a copy of which is subjoined, arrived at Hydra, on the 14th April, 1823, were purchased by the Committees, with the assistance of voluntary contributions—that is to say, the Committee of Arau, in Switzerland, has taken on its own account 1000 muskets, with the intention that the National Government of Greece and the Philhellene Legion should put them into the hands of the Greeks, who, disciplined in the European method, and fighting with the bayonet, would have formed regular corps, either by a union with the German Legion, or with the Greek regiment. It is then quite contrary to the views of the Committees that these arms should remain at Hydra. The Administrative Commission will therefore reclaim them immediately from the Senate of Hydra, and employ them, through the intervention of the National Greek Government, according to the destination indicated above.

(e). The surgical instruments sent to Greece by the Committees were destined for the use of the physicians employed in the German Legion, or in any Greek Corps, or for the service of the Hospitals.

The arms, tools, materials, and surgical instruments, sent to Greece by the Committees, shall never be sold under any pretext whatever; but in case the Philhellenes, e. g. by reason of their return, shall no longer be in a condition to make use of them, they shall be given up to their true proprietors, that is to say, to the National Government of Greece.

The Administrative Commission will consider it their duty to give to the before-mentioned objects, as well as to the assistance which

may in future be sent to Greece, that direction which shall be most conformable to the principal object of the Committees.

6. The Commission will keep an exact account of the sums which have been entrusted to them, and the Germans and Swiss shall have free access to it; moreover, it shall be communicated to the Committees, together with information of the mode in which the aforesaid aids shall have been applied.

7. The Administrative Commission shall do all in its power to get the Philhellenes placed in a state of activity conformable to the abilities of each, either forming a separate corps or individually. If ever the good news which we may receive of them should excite anew the interest of the public, and the Commission shall have taken proper precautions to receive in safety whatever may be transmitted to them from the Committees, as well as to dispose of it according to their directions, then alone will it be possible to send perhaps new aids to the Philhellenes. Still the Central Society of Switzerland cannot at present make any positive engagement on this point.

We are very desirous that the obstacles which have hitherto been opposed to the activity of the Philhellenes, may be diminished; that these brave men may remain faithful to their first designs of assisting the Greeks in their struggle with the tyrants. May this generous resolution at length become truly useful to Greece, and do honour to the Committees which have assisted her with all their might.

Given in our sitting of the 15th October, 1823.

The President of the Philhellene Central Society of Switzerland.

Zurich,

JEAN HENRI BREMI, *Canon.*

19th October, 1823.

M. HIRZEL, *Secretary.*

JEAN GASPARD ORELLI, *Professor,*
Secretary of the Society.

No. 9.

Lord Byron to Prince Mavrocordato.

Cefalonie, 2d Decembre, 1823.

Prince,

La présente sera remise a votre altesse par le Colonel Stan-

hope, fils du Major-Général Comte de Harrington, etc. etc. Il est arrivé de Londres pour cinquante jours, après avoir visité tous les comités d'Allemagne. Il est chargé de notre comité d'opérer à ma compagnie à la libération de la Grèce. Je crois que son nom et sa mission le recommanderont suffisamment à votre altesse, sans qu'il ait besoin d'autres recommandations d'un étranger, quoi qu'il respecte et admire avec toute l'Europe, le courage, les talens, et surtout la probité du Prince Mavrocordato.

Il me déplait beaucoup d'entendre que les dissensions continuent toujours dans la Grèce, et dans un moment où elle pourroit triompher de tout en général, comme elle a déjà triomphé à part.

La Grèce est mise à présent entre trois partis : ou reconquérir la liberté, ou devenir une dépendance des souverains d'Europe, ou tourner une province Turque, et il ne lui reste que de saisir un de ces trois partis. Mais la guerre civile n'est qu'une route pour les deux derniers. Si elle à envie de la sort de Valachie et de la Crimée, elle peut l'obtenir *demain* ; si de celle d'Italie après *demain* ; mais si elle veut devenir la véritable Grèce, libre toujours et indépendante, il faut qu'elle se détermine *aujourd'hui*, ou elle n'aura plus le tems de le faire à jamais.

Je suis, avec tout le respect,

De votre altesse obeissant serviteur,

N. B.

P. S. Votre altesse saura déjà que j'ai cherché de contenter aux recherches du gouvernement Grec, tant qu'il étoit à mon pouvoir ; mais je voudrois bien que cette flotte, déjà si long tems attendue et toujours en vain, fut arrivée, ou au moins qu'elle fût en route, et surtout que votre altesse s'approche de ces parts, ou sur la flotte avec une mission publique, ou en quelque autre façon.

TRANSLATION.

Cephalonia, 2d December, 1823.

Prince,

The present will be put into your hands by Colonel Stanhope, son of Major-General the Earl of Harrington, &c. &c. He has arrived from London for fifty days, after having visited all the Committees of Germany. He is charged by our Committee to act in concert with me for the liberation of Greece. I conceive that his name and his mission will be a sufficient recommendation, without the necessity of any other from a foreigner, although one, who, in

common with all Europe, respects and admires the courage, the talents, and, above all, the probity of Prince Mavrocordato.

I am very uneasy at hearing that the dissensions of Greece still continue, and at a moment when she might triumph over every thing in general, as she has already triumphed in part. Greece is, at present, placed between three measures; either to re-conquer her liberty, or to become a dependence of the sovereigns of Europe, or to return to a Turkish province: she has the choice only of these three alternatives. Civil war is but a road which leads to the two latter. If she is desirous of the fate of Walachia and the Crimea, she may obtain it *to-morrow*; if of that of Italy, the *day after*; but if she wishes to become *truly Greece, free and independent*, she must resolve *to-day*, or she will never again have the opportunity.

I am, with due respect,

Your highness's obedient servant,

N. B.

P.S. Your highness will already have known, that I have sought to fulfil the wishes of the Greek government, as much as it laid in my power to do; but I should wish that the fleet, so long and so vainly expected, were arrived, or at least, that it were on the way, and especially that your highness should approach these parts either on board the fleet, with a public mission, or in some other manner.

No. 10.

Lord Erskine to Prince Mavrocordato.

London, September 16th, 1823.

Sir,

THE letter which your Excellency did me the great and unmerited honour to write to me by Mr. Blaquiére, on his return to England, gave me inexpressible satisfaction.

My abhorrence of the Ottoman domination, and my unalterable confidence in the re-establishment of ancient Greece, under the Christian dispensation, are not of a late date. Many years before the descendants of that illustrious people were in a condition to combine suc-

ceasefully against their infamous oppressors, even in my very dawn of life, I constantly looked forward, with feverish impatience, for their deliverance.

The Greeks ought never to have been assimilated by the nations of Europe to those colonies they had planted, which in our own times have cast off their allegiance to their parent states. At what periods and under what circumstances these great changes have taken place, and whether to be condemned, or justified and applauded, could have no reference to your ancient nation asserting its primitive independence; neither could the commotions in Naples, nor the discontents under European governments, have any possible relation to the war of Greece. The Greeks were not planted, nor colonised, nor ever protected by the Ottoman Porte; nor can I consider the Turkish rule as one to which nations, in the ordinary history of the world, have so often, through warfare, become subject, nor have they been governed when subjected according to the laws and customs of civilized states. I consider, on the contrary, her tyrannous usurpation and desolation as only an awful and mysterious dispensation of the Divine Providence, permitting, for an appointed period, the disastrous overthrow of one of the finest portions of the earth, obstructing, during this portentous eclipse, the progress of that promised light and knowledge of Christian redemption, the consummation of which one would have thought to have been an event deeply interesting to all Christian states. To the princes, therefore, on the continent of Europe, who have left you to be so long persecuted, *and but for your own matchless valour*, even to every man, woman, and child, inhumanly butchered, you had given no manner of offence, nor could they impute to you any purpose or thought of injuring them, by seeking to secure your independence. Your resistance to a most insufferable tyranny happened only, and altogether by accident, to have been contemporary with a system which they themselves had confederated to establish; viz. that the world throughout should continue for ever in its present state, except under their immediate direction, and that crimes and follies should have no consequences: but, as the Greeks owed no allegiance to these distant sovereigns, they were not bound to subscribe to tenets so novel, however patronised. In their admirable address to the princes at Verona on this subject, they have unanswerably disconnected Greece with all that could justify the rejection of their eloquent and affecting supplication for support; but I hope it will not be forgotten that Great Britain, though present by ministers at

that congress, was not a party to it, and cannot therefore be charged with having insulted the sacred cause of humanity and justice by such a cold-blooded, disgraceful, and disgusting silence. I advert to this, because I most anxiously wish to draw you closer every hour to my beloved country, renowned during so many ages for spreading the blessings of religion and freedom to the uttermost ends of the earth. Be assured that there is but one heart and soul and one voice amongst us for your final triumph, although at the outset of your glorious resistance there were difficulties in the way of a direct and immediate national support, originating in events much more remote than the period of your confederacy. The Ottoman Porte ought, in my opinion, to have been always considered in the light in which I have ever viewed it, and ought never to have been received into the communion of civilized states; but a different course having been for centuries pursued, and treaties being consequently on foot, obstacles were in the way of a sudden departure from a long established system, though so impolitic and erroneous. But now that Greece has become a nation out of all reach of re-conquest, and has established a regular government,—now that the Porte cannot contend that she has any dominion, either *de jure* or *de facto*, over her, I cannot think it consistent with our national character to permit such an infernal source of bloodshed and desolation to continue; and as our statesmen must besides speedily discover that British interests are now inseparably interwoven with your security and advancement, I cannot but encourage you to hope (though I speak from no authority nor from any knowledge of the designs of government) that a recognition of the confederated Greeks cannot be very distant. Speaking for myself, I pray God that I may live to see your infant navies undisturbed throughout the whole Archipelago, and the friendly flag of Great Britain bearing the commerce of the world into all the harbours of Greece. It is no figure, sir, when I express a hope that I may see this, because, if it should happily take place during my short remaining time, nothing should prevent me from seeing it; and, were I in the hour of death, I should rejoice in a spectacle so indicative of future peace upon earth and so consolatory to humanity and justice. I have the more confidence, sir, in this happy change, from the devout and affecting appeals to the Almighty God for succour and protection against your infidel oppressors, with which, amidst so many sufferings and successes, you appear to have organized your government, as they now lie before me, having been published by our Greek Committee. Such appeals, if upheld, as I am sure they will be, with corresponding faithfulness,

cannot be made in vain. No people upon earth had ever more need of Divine assistance, nor ought to have greater confidence in the deliverance they pray for, since, as all human changes, though under the superintendence of a beneficent Providence, will most probably, by human means, be accomplished, the otherwise unaccountable fortitude, skill, and patience, with which your highly-gifted people have started up on a sudden to rival even the most memorable acts of their illustrious fathers, seem like the forecast of an irresistible conclusion. My letter, sir, which you will see has been written in too much haste, will be delivered to your Excellency by the Honourable Colonel Stanhope, who, since Mr. Blaquiere has returned for the present to England, has most generously undertaken to assist our Committee, by his presence amongst you :—he is a most accomplished person, a son of the Earl of Harrington, a man of high rank in our nobility, whose family I have long held in sincere friendship and respect.

I am not President of the Greek Committee, as you consider me in your letter to be; we are all equal, taking it in our turns to preside, according to the accidents of attendance and the convenience of those present, and in that character I suppose the proceedings were signed by me which were forwarded to Greece. The letter to Mr. Luriettis and the published one to the Earl of Liverpool were only from myself. In the same manner, my friend, Joseph Hume, M. P. presided at our last meeting; and, as your interesting letter was intended for the whole Committee, though addressed personally to myself, I was desired by him to answer it; and I much regret that the sudden departure of Colonel Stanhope before our next sitting deprived me of the opportunity of presenting it for his approbation and that of the other members then present; but I persuade myself that I have expressed their sentiments, though they might have been much better expressed by the President for the day himself, who has devoted much of his valuable time and talents to all the objects of our Committee, though unceasingly employed in every important business of Parliament, and indefatigably engaged besides in promoting every useful improvement throughout our country. Indeed, his warm and active zeal in your cause increases my confidence in the usefulness of our devotion to the interests of Greece.

I have the honour to be,

With many thanks, and with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most faithful servant,

ERSKINE.

No. 11.

Première Session du Comité Général en Grèce.

Missolonghi, 16th Dec. 1823.

President. Colonel DE LAUNAY.*Membres.* Colonel L. STANHOPE.

„ Lieutenant L. A. KOLBE.

1. On a résolu que pour l'absence de Mon. Reinecke, le Docteur Jean Jacques Meyer, sera accepté comme le quatrième membre du comité.

2. Le Colonel Stanhope propose de former un corps de 50 Allemands, pour faire le service comme artilleurs et aides dans le laboratoire après avoir eu la permission et la parole du Prince Mavrocordato que la subsistance nécessaire pour un tel corps sera assurée pour un an. Pour l'établissement de ce corps Mons. le Colonel Stanhope offre cent livres sterling, payables par des installments chaque mois, pourvu que ce corps soit sujet à une discipline rigide et à quelque code militaire.

Cette résolution fût unanimement acceptée.

3. Le corps sera rassemblé à Missolonghi, et la solde commencera le 1^{er} Février. M. Kolbe est chargé de la commission de rassembler les individus qui seront choisis par le comité.

4. Les individus ci après sont acceptés par le comité pour former le corps.

Le Capt. PARRY, *Inspecteur.* Mons. SASS, *Lieutenant.*

Mons. DEUTSCH, *Commandant.* „ KINDERMANN, *Adjudant.*

„ HUTZELBERG, *Capitaine.* „ NETERZEB, *Serj.-Major.*

5. Résolu par le comité que tous les Allemands seront rassemblés à Missolonghi, une partie pour la formation du corps ci-dessus proposé, et partie pour être renvoyée en Allemagne.

(Signé) MARQ. BELLIER DE LAUNAY.
DR. MEYER.
L. A. KOLBE.
LEICESTER STANHOPE.

TRANSLATION.

First Session of the General Committee in Greece.

Missolonghi, 16th Dec. 1825.

President. Colonel DE LAUNAY.

Members. Colonel L. STANHOPE.

Lieutenant L. A. KOLBE.

1. It was resolved, that, during the absence of M. de Reinecke, Dr. Jean Jacques Meyer shall be accepted as the fourth member of this Committee.

2. Colonel Stanhope proposes the formation of a corps of fifty Germans, to serve as artillerymen and assistants in the laboratory, after having obtained the permission and the promise of Prince Mavrocordato, that the subsistence necessary for such a corps shall be secured to them for one year. Towards the establishment of this corps, Colonel Stanhope offers a hundred pounds sterling, payable by monthly instalments, provided the corps shall be subjected to a rigid discipline and to some military code.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

3. The corps shall be assembled at Missolonghi, and their pay shall commence from the 1st February. M. Kolbe is charged with the commission to assemble the individuals who shall be selected by the Committee.

4. The following individuals are approved of by the Committee, to form the corps :

Captain PARRY, <i>Inspector.</i>	MONS. SASS, <i>Lieutenant.</i>
Mons. DEUTSCH, <i>Commander.</i>	„ KINDERMANN, <i>Adjutant.</i>
„ HUTZELBERG, <i>Captain.</i>	„ NETERZEBA, <i>Serj.-Major.</i>

5. Resolved, by the Committee, that all the Germans shall be assembled at Missolonghi, part for the formation of the proposed corps, and part to be sent back to Germany.

(Signed)

MARQ. BELLIER DE LAUNAY.

DR. MEYER.

L. A. KOLBE.

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

No. 12.

Seconde Session du Comité Général en Grèce.

Missolonghi, 17 Dec. 1823.

LE Comité à charge M. le Dr. Meyer de parler à M. le Prince Mavrocordato pour les effets qui se trouvent à Hydra, consistant en deux mille fusils, sept cent vingt-cinq gibernes, quatre-vingt-douze instruments de musique, soixante sept fusils balle forcée, une machine à tourner avec tous ses outils, tous les outils nécessaires pour menuisiers, forgerons, et forgerons d'armes, une quantité de fer et de l'acier, poudre-à-canon et fusil, deux tonneaux de pierre-à-feu, une grande quantité de cuir, &c. &c. Aussi pour les 5000 francs qui se trouvent de feu M. Kephala dans les caisses du commandant de Napoli di Romania, et qui ont été jusqu'à présent inutilement réclamé de MM. Reinecke et Dittmar.—Acceptée.

La Comité a résolu de nommer comme des aides pour le Commissaire de la Guerre, Monsieur Demetry Deliori et Monsieur le Capitaine de Port, Monsieur Demetry Sideri, tous les deux de Missolonghi, les patents seront faits et délivrés à ces deux individus.—Résolue et acceptée.

(Signé) LEICESTER STANHOPE.
L. A. KOLBE.
DR. MEYER.
MARQ. BELLIER DE LAUNAY.

TRANSLATION.

Second Session of the General Committee in Greece.

Missolonghi, 17th Dec. 1823.

THE Committee has charged Dr. Meyer to speak to Prince Mavrocordato for the restitution of the effects at Hydra, consisting of 2000 muskets, 725 gibernes, 92 musical instruments, 67 rifles, a turning-lathe with all its tools, all the tools necessary for carpenters, smiths, and gunsmiths, a quantity of iron and steel, and of gunpowder, two tons of flints, a large quantity of leather, &c. Also, for the 5000 francs of the late M. Kephala, in the coffers of the Commandant of Napoli di Romania, and which have hitherto been in vain reclaimed by MM. de Reinecke and Dittmar.—Approved.

The Committee has resolved to name as assistants to the Commissary of War, M. Demetrius Deliori, and the Captain of the Port, M.

Demetrius Sideri, both of Missolonghi. Patents shall be made out and delivered to these two individuals.—Resolved and approved.

(Signed) LEICESTER STANHOPE.
L. A. KOLBE.
DR. MEYER.
MARQ. BELLIER DE LAUNAY.

No. 13.

Troisième Session du Comité Général en Grèce.

Missolonghi, 20th December, 1823.

MONS. MEYER a proposé au Comité Général en Grèce, de prêter à S. E. Alex. Mavrocordato, Président du Corps Législatif, la somme de 5000 piastres pour le paiement très pressant de la flotte Grécque devant Missolonghi. Par le moyen de cette somme il s'engage d'entretenir 7 bâtimens Grécques, pour le blocus de Patras et Lepanto, pendant 2 mois, et même Mons. Mavrocordato s'obligera par écrit de rembourser la somme susdit de 5000 piastres au Comité Général après avoir reçu l'emprunt promis par Lord Byron.

Le Comité Général ayant considéré la susdite proposition est d'opinion que le moment pressant des choses l'engage de prêter cette somme de p. 5000 à M. Mavrocordato, pourvu que le Col. L. Stanhope garantisse au Comité le remboursement. Le Col. L. Stanhope, considérant l'importance de cette proposition, a décidé de faire la garantie susdite; et Mons. Mavrocordato doit déposer au Comité une quittance suivant la proposition et les garanties ci-dessus.

[Suivent les signatures.]

TRANSLATION.

Third Session of the General Committee in Greece.

Missolonghi, 20th Dec. 1823.

M. MEYER proposed to the General Committee in Greece to lend to his Excellency Alex. Mavrocordato the sum of 5000 piastres, for the very urgent payment of the Greek fleet before Missolonghi. By means of this sum, he engages to maintain seven Greek vessels for the blockade of Patras and Lepanto for two months, and M. Mavrocordato will even oblige himself, in writing, to reimburse the aforesaid sum of 5000 piastres to the General Committee, after having received the loan promised by Lord Byron.

The General Committee, having taken the aforesaid proposition into consideration, is of opinion that the urgent necessity of affairs engages them to lend this sum of 5000 piastres to M. Mavrocordato, provided Colonel Stanhope will guarantee its reimbursement to the Committee. Colonel Stanhope, considering the importance of the proposition, has resolved to give the aforesaid guarantee; and M. Mavrocordato will deposit with the Committee a receipt, in conformity with the above propositions and guarantees.

[The signatures follow as before.]

No. 14.

Receipt in Answer to the same from Prince Mavrocordato.

LE sousigné declare avoir reçu du Comité Général en Grèce et pour le besoin très pressant des dépenses de la flotte Grécque devant Missolonghi, la somme de deux cent et trente ducats (c'est à dire 200 d. à 5 flor. 52 krz. et 30 d. hol. à 5 flor. 48 krz. en tout, 1240 flor. 20 krz. du Rhin,) en donnant sur mon honneur au dit comité la garantie formelle de rembourser cette somme en ducats Hollandais, ou Venitiens, ou du Pape, de celle prêtée au gouvernement Grec, par sa seigneurie mil Lord Byron pour le maintien de cette flotte et sa co-operation au blocus de Lepanto et de Patras.

En foi de quoi j'ai signé la présente obligation, et j'y ai apposé le sceau de mes armes.

(Signé) A. MAVROCORDATO.

Missolonghi, le 9-21 Dec. 1823.

TRANSLATION.

The undersigned declares that he has received from the General Committee in Greece, for the very urgent necessities of the expenses of the Greek fleet before Missolonghi, the sum of two hundred and thirty ducats, (that is to say, 200 ducats at 5 florins 52 kreutzers, and 30 Dutch ducats at 5 florins 48 kreutzers, in all 1240 florins 20 kreutzers of the Rhine,) giving, on my honour, to the said Committee, a formal guarantee to reimburse the same in Dutch, Venetian, or Papal ducats, from the sum lent to the government by Lord Byron, for the

maintenance of this fleet, and its co-operation in the blockade of Lepanto and Patras. In faith of which I have signed the present obligation, and have affixed to it the seal of my arms.

(Signed)

A. MAVROCORDATO.

Missolonghi, 9-21 December, 1823.

No. 15.

From Jeremy Bentham, Esq. to Colonel Stanhope.

Queen's-Square-Place, Westminster,
23d September, 1823.

My dear Sir,

IN regard to the Greek boys for Hazlewood-School, to prevent misconception and misrecollection, the following are the obligations I am willing and desirous to take upon myself on that account.

If a boy is consigned to me by you, with his charges to London defrayed, and £ in hand for a year's schooling, I will charge myself with the expense of sending him back to some port in Greece or the Ionian Islands, at the end of that time, which I shall do accordingly, unless a remittance to the same amount reaches me before that time: and so from year to year until his education and instruction is regarded as finished, or he is deemed unfit for the purpose; or if, after the first year, the remittances come half-yearly, it will be sufficient.

To provide for the case of his being found unapt, I must reserve to myself the power of sending the boy back at any time. I will, in that case, return the money in my hands, after deducting the charge of his maintenance up to that time; as also half the expense of his conveyance back as above, the other half remaining as a charge upon me, will, I suppose, be accepted as a sufficient security against arbitrary conduct on my part in that respect.

You have the printed account of the terms; but in these, I believe, neither drawing nor French are included, both which I should regard as necessary, and music as desirable: dancing alone as a useless consumption of time and money in *this* case. Fifty pounds per annum includes every thing but

clothes, and, I believe, payment for the vacation time of the year, which, if I do not misrecollect, is two months or two months and a half.

Clothing could not be set at less than £15 a-year. This will make £65 in the whole. But rather than miss of a promising subject, I would charge myself with, say from £15 to £20 a-year of the expense. Something should come from the parents, as a sort of security for aptitude on the part of the child.

I would take two upon this same footing, provided they do not come together, but one after the other, at a small interval. If they come together, or stay long together before they reach the school, they will, of course, be talking together, and learn very little of the English language, in comparison of what they would learn if separate.

I cannot, of course, positively undertake for it; but part of my plan would be to have one or both of them, though not together, some part of their vacation time at my house; in which case I should have to pay the expense of their journeys to and fro.

You will see how necessary it is, considering how little dependence can be placed on remittances from a country so circumstanced, that the master of the school should be exempted from the danger of having upon his hands a boy, whom in no case he could get rid of, without such an expense as the above. But, should the boy turn out well, and stay with him three or four years, he might, perhaps, at the end of that time, retain him as an assistant, and his service in that capacity might be an equivalent for the expense.

If a boy arrive, I should immediately take care to make provision for my death, by charging with the business my executor, a most honourable and trust-worthy person.

With the truest respect, I am,

Most affectionately yours,

JEREMY BENTHAM.

Hon. Leicester Stanhope.

P.S. By Mr. Bowring's consent the boys may be consigned to him.

No. 16.

From Lord Byron to Colonel Stanhope.

Scrofer, or some such name, on board a
Cephaloniote Mistle, Dec. 31st, 1823.

My dear Stanhope,

WE are just arrived here, that is, part of my people and I, with some things, &c. and which it may be as well not to specify in a letter, (which has a risk of being intercepted, perhaps,) but Gamba and my horses, negro, steward, and the press, and all the Committee things, also some eight thousand dollars of mine, (but never mind, we have more left:—do you understand?) are taken by the Turkish frigates, and my party and myself, in another boat, have had a narrow escape last night, (being close under their stern, and hailed, but we would not answer and bore away,) as well as this morning. Here we are, with sun and clearing weather, within a pretty little port enough; but whether our Turkish friends may not send in their boats and take us out, (for we have no arms, except two carbines and some pistols; and, I suspect, not more than four fighting people on-board,) is another question, especially if we remain long here, since we are blocked out of Missolonghi by the direct entrance. You had better send my friend George Drake, and a body of Sullots, to escort us by land, or by the canals, with all convenient speed. Gamba and our Bombard are taken into Patras, I suppose, and we must take a turn at the Turks to get them out: but where the devil is the fleet gone? the Greek I mean, leaving us to get in without the least intimation to take heed that the Moslems were out again. Make my respects to Mavrocordato, and say, that I am here at his disposal. I am uneasy at being here; not so much on our own account as on that of a Greek boy with me, for you know what his fate would be; and I would sooner cut him in pieces and myself too, than have him taken out by those barbarians. We are all very well.

Yours, &c.

N. B.

P.S. The Bombard was twelve miles out when taken, at least so it appeared to us, (if taken she actually be, for it is not certain,) and we had to escape from another vessel that stood right in between us and the port.

No. 17.

Missolonghi, 6th February, 1824.

Proceedings of a Committee, held by order of Lord Byron, for the purpose of considering what Ammunitions and warlike Stores are required for the Siege of Lepanto.

Members—Colonel STANHOPE, Capt. PARAY, Lieutenant KINDERMANN, and M. LURIOTTIS.

The Committee solicit M. Luriottis to state what stores and ammunitions are at present available at Missolonghi.

Answer—There are 45 cannons; viz. one of 48, one of 36, two of 22, four of 18, of which three are howitzers, one of 16, four of 12, five of 9, two of 7, fifteen of 6, and nine of 4; also one mortar of 40 pounds calibre.

There are 200 balls of 48 pounds; one hundred of 36, one hundred and fifty of 22, three hundred of 18, fifty of 16, and eighty of 12. Of cannister shot there are about 3300 pounds; one hundred howitzer balls of 18, and about twenty shells of 40 pounds.

There are about 6600 pounds of powder.

Musket Balls. There are 22 cases and 3000 cartridges.

There are 4800 pounds of lead.

Working Tools. There are about 30, 10 hatchets, and 10 barrows.

There are no ladders, and none but green wood to make ladders of. Sappers, miners, &c. may be had.

The gun-carriages all require repair.

The Committee is of opinion that the materials of war specified are insufficient to undertake a siege, and that to prepare materials would require much time.

The Committee is further of opinion that the artillery should be speedily drilled, that six 3-pounders should be prepared with the necessary ammunition, that thirty escalading ladders should be got ready, and that the force should in about a fortnight proceed to the blockade of Lepanto. This force should attempt to surprise. In the mean time, endeavours should be made to procure four 18 or 12 pounders from Corinth, and to get ready the rockets and mine the works. The town might then be fired and taken.

No. 18.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

The Executive Body to the Hon. Colonel Stanhope.

We have received your letter of the 16th Dec. 1833, [vide p. 44.] with the enclosed from Lord Erskine and Lord Byron. The government regrets not having had the pleasure of receiving you; but it consoles itself with the news of your arrival at Missolonghi, and of your having entered into the sacred cause of Greece, from which it anticipates the wished-for success.

The government being well acquainted with the virtuous and philanthropic character of the powerful British nation, not only does not conceive the slightest suspicion with regard to its conduct on the independence of Greece, but, on the contrary, it is persuaded that, under the protection of your nation, that independence will be established, the muses will revive in their sacred temples, and generations of Greeks, grateful for these benefits, will not cease to address to it their thanks.

It is true, that some disorders and dissensions exist among the Greeks, but the wise man justifies them by a reference to the condition in which they were plunged but four years ago, and the eye of the philosopher regards them as a consequence physically necessary after such grand political events. But the government hopes by its vigilance, and by the advice and solicitations of the Philanthropists and Philhellenes, to appease them by degrees.

Continue, then, sir, your sacred undertaking for the benefit of Greece, and neither the government, nor the nation, nor Greece, will ever show themselves ungrateful towards their benefactors.

(L.S.) GEORGE CONDURIOTTIS, *the President of the Executive.*

GHICÁS BOTASSI.

JOHN COLETTI.

P. G. ROIDI, *the Provisional Secretary.*

Cranidi, 17th January, 1834.

No. 19.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

The Executive Body to the Hon. Colonel Stanhope.

WE have received your letter of the 20th Dec. 1823, [vide p. 58,] the contents of which clearly show your good and generous intentions towards Greece. The Hellenic government is not ignorant how useful in a state is the circulation of ideas by means of a post; but the circumstances which concur when a people take up arms to shake off the yoke of a horrible tyranny often oppose invincible obstacles to the execution of this desirable object.

The government will, however, take this so useful proposition into consideration, and will give you the necessary information on the subject.

(L.S.) GEORGE CONDURIOTTIS, *the President of the Executive.*
GHICAS BOTASSI.
JOHN COLETTI.
P. G. ROIDI, *the Provisional Secretary.*

Cranidi, 17th January, 1824.

No. 20.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

The Executive Body to the Hon Colonel Stanhope.

THE government has learned from your letter of the 7th January, [vide p. 73,] that the Greek Committee of England has sent out a number of presses, with the good intention of spreading the intelligence of the nineteenth century over Greece, plunged as it is in igno-

rance by the most barbarous of tyrannies. These are sentiments truly philanthropic! These are sentiments which are pleasing before God, and worthy of true Christians! The benevolent Committee already receives the sincere thanks of every Greek, and we beg of you, of you also to be the messenger of our gratitude.

Send us one of them, we intreat, as soon as possible, and have the goodness to lend it to the government of Greece, which, desiring the happiness of its people, will take care to establish it, and to put it in a state of useful activity. We have thought capable of conducting this enterprize, M. Theoclitus Farmachidi, now living in Cefalonia, who has the necessary talent and even practice to publish a Gazette.

We enclose a letter of invitation to him, which we beg of you to forward without delay.

(L.S.) GEORGE CONDURIOTTIS, *the President of the Executive.*
GHICAS BOTASSI.
JOHN COLETTI.
P. G. ROIDI, *the Provisional Secretary.*

Cranidi, 17th Jan. 1824.

No. 21.

Capt. Parry's Plan for placing the Fortress of Missolonghi and the Harbour in a State of efficient Defence.

To effect this object, Captain Parry requires that the Prince Mavrocordato shall place one thousand dollars at his disposal, also a sufficient quantity of wood.

Capt. P. will then take into pay a corps of sappers, miners, and cannoneers. This shall consist of a quarter-master, four overseers, or sergeants, and fifty good workmen, chiefly sailors, &c. These men will be employed in the laboratory, in constructing the fortifications, &c. The quarter-master will receive 5 dollars, the sergeants, 4 dollars each, and the men, 3 dollars each.

Capt. P. will place the fortifications in a state of defence. He will make a traverse on every battery, and will place an ammunition-chest under each of them, which shall contain rounds of pow-

der in cartridges for each gun, wads, &c. He will put all the guns and platforms in repair, and furnish rammers and caps for the guns.

Capt. P. will furnish 100 rounds of powder cartridges for each gun on the fortress; also 5000 rounds of ball-cartridges for small arms.

When the forges are up he will run the old iron into shot and make grape shot.

Capt. P. will fit up two gun-boats, if the materials are furnished to him. He will make cannon-side slides on them, arrange them for oars, and make a grate in one of them for heating shot.

Capt. P. will also complete the laboratory, and render it fit for manufacturing ammunition and materials for war.

Wood being provided, Capt. Parry will construct a safe powder-magazine. All these measures, Capt. Parry undertakes to effect at the trifling expense of 1000 dollars.

No. 21.*

From ———.

Athens, 6th March, 1824.

Dear Sir,

I AM sorry to have occasion to trouble you with an account of a most unpleasant affair, that happened here a few days since.—“The Hind,” Lord J. Churchill, arrived here, and he and his officers came up to visit the authorities. They were received by Ulysses with every demonstration of respect, and every facility was offered them. In return for his civility, Lord J. invited Ulysses on board, as well as Mr. Trelawny, Dr. Tindall, and myself, the three English Philhellenes here. The Greeks were shown the ship, after which they were invited to a repast, at which more wine was drank than accorded with discretion. Fearing some drunken quarrel, I got them on deck, and we retired to the after cabin for coffee. At this moment, the ship was got under weigh, and put to sea. I used all my endeavours, as well as did the first lieutenant and others, to prevent this rash act, but to no purpose; for I well knew that the impression it would make on the minds of the Greeks would be that they were going to carry

them off, and that they would even suspect me and the other two Englishmen as parties concerned in the supposed treachery: nay, I represented to him that, by such an act he was endangering our lives, as, it was possible, the first act of theirs on landing would be to shoot us; however, all to no purpose. Ulysses had about thirty-soldiers on board, who, armed as usual, remained near their chief, and, seeing the ship under sail, they put themselves in an attitude of defence, and I expected, every instant, to see them fire, for no attention was paid to the reiterated demand to be put on shore. Goorha cut the tiller ropes, in hopes of getting the ship on shore. At length, however, the Greeks scrambled, as well as they could, into the boats, and got on shore. In the hurry, some capotes, &c. were left on board the ship, and for the restoration of these, the "Hind's" boats were detained on shore by Ulysses. Thus all Lord J. Churchill obtained by this unwarrantable trick, was to have this insult placed upon the British flag. When we English landed we were not without apprehensions for our personal safety; however, I am happy to state, for the honour of the Greeks, that we passed exempt from all suspicions. You know the Greeks; therefore, I shall not mention, as an extraordinary circumstance, that all endeavours to persuade them that there was no intention to carry them off, are fruitless. The ship being from Smyrna, they insist she was employed by the Turks to carry off Ulysses. Thus, independent of the ill-timed folly of Lord J. in exposing our lives, he has created suspicions in the minds of the Greeks against the English, and that at a time when, of all others, it was the most to be avoided. I am aware that Lord J.'s intentions were good, but that is no excuse: in his situation his actions ought to reply to his intentions, or he is not fit to command a ship of war.

Ulysses has requested me to send to England a sketch of this event, as well as a copy of a letter he has caused to be written to Captain Clifford, the senior officer on this station, that they may both be inserted in the English newspapers. Well knowing your devotedness to the Greek cause, as well as your disposition to oblige me, I take the liberty of sending you these two documents: The Turks are said to be making great preparations for the ensuing campaign: two armies, of 40,000 men each, are to march, aided by a formidable fleet. I think the next campaign will prove what I have so long uselessly advanced, that the fate of Greece depends on the navy, and, accordingly, that a steam-vessel, armed as I propose, is

the only likely way of doing something decisive at sea, without which all efforts on shore must prove fruitless. I have already written to you on the subject, offering to contribute a thousand pounds towards an equipment, such as I explained to you when at Tripolitza, on condition that I may have the command of the same. If the Committee have not the means to furnish the remaining sum, I think it might be had in this way, either by a loan, or by a particular loan for that purpose, to be repaid out of a sum set apart from any prizes taken. At all events, I shall be in England in about five months, when I shall see you on the subject, and use my utmost endeavours to execute this project. 'Tis almost the only way of saving Greece.

I remain

Yours, very truly,

No. 22.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From General Odysseus to Colonel Stanhope.

Vrissachia, 20th March, 1824.

Noble Sir,

I HAVE received your two letters, and request you will lose no time in the establishment of the printing-press, which will have the power of exposing and censuring the misconduct of every one.

In one word, every thing which you shall do for the benefit of Greece will have my fullest approbation. Do not ask my opinion upon any thing. I am not able to give you advice. You are much better acquainted with what is necessary than I am. Do not, therefore, delay to do every thing that you shall think desirable for Greece, or likely to advance her liberty.

I request that you will communicate to me any news you may have from Missolonghi, for I am now ready to depart for Salona.

I am, &c.

ODYSSEUS TRITZO.

No. 23.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

*From the Philo-Muse Society at Athens to the Honourable the English
Colonel Stanhope.*

ON the assembling of the members of the Philo-Muse Society your letter was read to them, and they received it with a becoming feeling of gratitude.

Your foresight and zeal for our improvement has not only breathed confidence, and irradiated hope into the body of this regenerated academy, but has given rise to a high feeling of respect, corresponding with the degree of anxiety which you show of co-operating, when and where possible, for the reanimation and for the fructifying of this body.

And for this reason, according to your request, we point out to your attention the articles of which we stand in need, which are, a set of apparatus for experimental natural philosophy and astronomy, whatever may be necessary in natural history, or may be applicable to the Lancasterian system of tuition, on which the Institution was founded previous to the concurrence of the Athenians, and was withdrawn from the system when it was placed under the guidance of the Philo-Muse Society, viz. the best treatises on the various sciences, periodical and political works, in all languages, and whatever has been published on Grecian affairs since the beginning of the war.

The above for the present: ulteriorly the Philo-Muse Society will write you as to whatever it may deem advantageous for the improvement of the Lyceums and other establishments, of which it may contemplate the creation.

I remain, Sir,

With due deference,

THE SECRETARY TO THE PHILO-MUSE SOCIETY.

No. 24.

From Mavrocordato to Col. Stanhope.

Missolonghi, le 8-19 Mars, 1824.

Monsieur et très cher ami,

J'AI reçu avec le plus grand plaisir votre lettre du 24 Février.

Si le mauvais tems n'avait pas empêché le retour de M. Finlay, vous auriez su déjà que nous sommes décidés à venir à la rencontre du Général Ulysse jusqu'à Chryso, ou à Salona même. Vous connaissez mieux que personne les difficultés qu'il y avait à surmonter pour arriver à cette décision; mais vous êtes également persuadé que Milord et moi ne laisserons jamais manquer une occasion qui donne quelque chose d'avantageux à espérer pour les affaires de la patrie.

Les Souliotes sont partis après mille et mille difficultés. Nous ferons tout ce que nous pouvons pour Lépante.

Nos députés sont arrivés à Londres le 13-25 Février; ils espèrent réussir dans leur mission.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec la plus haute considération,

Monsieur le Colonel,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

(TRANSLATION.)

Missolonghi, 8-19th March, 1824.

Sir, and very dear friend,

I HAVE received, with the greatest pleasure, your letter of the 24th February.

If the bad weather had not prevented Mr. Finlay's return, you would already have known that we have decided on coming to meet General Ulysses as far as Chryso, or even as Salona. You know, better than any body, the difficulties which were to be overcome in order to arrive at this decision; but you are equally persuaded that his Lordship and myself will never let slip an opportunity which holds out the hope of any thing advantageous for the affairs of my country.

The Suliots have departed, after a thousand difficulties. We shall do all that we can for Lepanto.

Our deputies arrived in London the 13-25th of February; they hope to succeed in their mission.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Colonel,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

No. 25.

From Lord Byron to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, 19th March, 1824.

My dear Stanhope,

PRINCE MAVROCORDATO and myself will go to Salona to meet Ulysses, and you may be very sure that P. M. will accept any proposition for the advantage of Greece. Parry is to answer for himself on his own articles; if I were to interfere with him it would only stop the whole progress of his exertion, and he is really doing all that can be done without more aid from the government.

What can be spared will be sent; but I refer you to Captain Humphries's report, and to Count Gamba's letter for details upon all subjects.

In the hope of seeing you soon, and deferring much that will be to be said till then,

Believe me, ever and truly,

Yours,

N. B.

P.S. Your two letters (to me) are sent to Mr. Barff, as you desire. Pray remember me particularly to Trelawny, whom I shall be very much pleased to see again.

No. 26.

From Messrs. Hodges and Gill to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, 4th March, 1824.

Sir,

PREVIOUS to your departure you did me the honour to request I would write to you what occurred here, and also to endeavour to carry into effect your admirable plan of the new paper (*The Greek Telegraph*).

As soon as I had left you, I wrote out the prospectus for the lithographic press, and Mr. Gill made every preparation to carry your wishes into effect: but, alas! on making the application to Mr. Parry for paper for that purpose, (having none of our own,) he informed us he could do no such thing, and that the paper he had was not sufficient to enable him to carry on the current service. We lost no time in endeavouring to procure some fit for the purpose, and lament to say without success: in a word, I am sorry to add that every obstacle has been thrown in the way, which, anxious as we were, has been quite sufficient to place it out of our power to effect your wishes. On the evening after your departure we had a severe shock of an earthquake, but no serious damage was sustained. It was settled, I believe, when you were here that an attempt should be made to get the Suliots out of the town; and Lord Byron, I understand, advanced their arrears, and they promised to go on the Monday following, but did not do so; therefore, from the time you left, till Tuesday, nothing very material may be said to have occurred.

On Tuesday morning I was directed to hold myself in readiness to depart with the mechanics for Zante; and about five P.M. Mr. Fowke and self departed with them, and received directions to proceed from thence to Cefalonia.

We reached Zante on Wednesday morning, and left that place for Cefalonia on Friday, where we arrived the same evening; and, at length, returned here on Tuesday, the 2d instant.

Nothing material occurred during our absence, every thing went on briskly, and the principal part of the Suliots left town. Mr. Gill informs me that the press, which he had ready for work at my departure, he was necessitated to remove, for, as soon as I had left, Mr. Parry caused Mr. Gill to leave the Seraglio, and take up his resi-

dense in your late apartments, and gave the officers of the artillery possession of our quarters in the Seraglio: Mr. G. was, therefore, under the necessity of removing the press there also, and, in spite of his utmost efforts, he has not been able to get it fixed since. Such being the case, we have come to the determination that, if we cannot, by Sunday next, effect our purpose in this way, we will get Dr. Meyer to print three hundred copies, at our joint expense, and forward them agreeably to your directions.

By directions of Lord Byron, I drew on your account at Zante £100, which, I am informed, you generously gave to clothe the artillery company. I had conversations at Zante and Cefalonia with Mr. Barff, Dr. Thomas, Mr. Hancock, Count de Delesserno, Dr. Kennedy, and others, and they all agreed in sentiments that nothing but good could emanate from so wise and judicious a measure; and added, that they had no doubt but the islands alone would take one hundred or more, and requested me, without loss of time, to forward them several copies of the prospectus: this I pledged myself to do, and assure you, Sir, I was not a little mortified, on my return, to find Mr. Gill was thwarted in every way from carrying your wishes and our own into effect: what makes it the more provoking is that, since I have been writing, I learn that I am again to depart for Cefalonia to-morrow, and, had not the above obstacle been placed in the way, I could have taken the copies of the prospectus with me.

I have to add that, notwithstanding the numerous and reiterated professions of the Prince, not a single para has as yet been advanced to carry into effect the arrangements which had been made previous to your departure. As soon as I return from Cefalonia, we will write again, for, from accounts received, we are in daily expectation the Turks will come down, and every preparation is making to give them a warm reception. Mr. Gill and self hope and trust you will do us the justice to believe that nothing has been wanting on our parts, but, from the obstacles thrown in our way, even when you were present, you will be able to appreciate.

We have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged servants,

J. M. HODGES.

W. GILL.

The Honourable Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c.

P.S. An English gentleman, by the name of Winter, has arrived

here since your departure. Captain Parry has this day prepared and packed one hundred rounds of fixed ammunition, with directions for firing red-hot shot, and five and a half barrels of gunpowder, to be forwarded to Athens to the chief Ulysses.

J. M. H.

No. 27.

From the same to the same.

Missolonghi, 19th March, 1824.

Dear Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of the letter you did me the honour to write, dated the 8th instant, I beg leave to say I shall, with peculiar pleasure, (so far as I am able,) execute your commands, but am sorry to add that Mr. Gill and self have had insurmountable obstacles to our anxious wishes of carrying into effect the promise we made relative to the Greek Telegraph.

In a letter we did ourselves the honour to address to you, dated about the 5th instant, we entered fully into the subject; this letter, agreeably to your instructions, we delivered to the Prince Mavrocordato's secretary, to be forwarded to you, which, we regret to hear, you have not received. Since then, I have been to Cefalonia, and took with me a number of the copies of the prospectus. On the day after their delivery I was called upon by several gentlemen, who strongly urged the propriety of changing the motto of the Telegraph; on my asking their reasons, they said it could be claimed as a motto by the Turks with as much propriety as the Greeks, and said that the principal inhabitants of the island, both Greeks and English, were of opinion that, unless it was altered, the official authorities would prevent its circulation through the whole of the Ionian islands. I thought it my duty to state this, on my return, to Count Gamba, and he informs me that Lord Byron intends to alter the motto, and some part of the language, so as not to mar the success of the project you have so much at heart. In a day or two, Dr. Meyer will print off 500 copies of the prospectus, which shall be sent forthwith, agreeably to the list you furnished Mr. Gill and self with. We have explained most fully to Mr. Humphreys every particular respecting this and every other subject, which you, Sir, must, for the sake of peace, consider confidential.

We cannot conclude this letter (written in extreme haste) without respectfully and earnestly assuring you that nothing would give Mr. Gill and myself greater pleasure than forwarding your views, and doing every thing in our power for the cause of Greece.

Yours, &c.

J. M. HODGES.

The Honourable Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c.

No. 28.

Address of the Athenians to Colonel Stanhope.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

To the Friend of the Greeks, Colonel Stanhope.

Athens, 16th March, 1824.

THE people of Athens, the ministers of the government, and many respectable individuals from the provinces, now residing here, request of you to forward the enclosed letter to the Greek Committee in London. You are requested also to accede to the invitation, expressed in the said letter, to spend your time in the provinces between Athens and Thermopylæ. You are not ignorant of the affairs of the Greeks, consequently you must be well aware that the friendly intentions of the Committee towards Greece require wise men, such as yourself, to point out and explain the real interests of the Greek nation.

We are, &c.

GIO. GHOROTTI, *the Officer of the Garrison of Athens.*

ANASTASIO ANAGNOSTI, *the Deputy of the Province of Lidorikio.*

SATIRIO SERAPHIM, *the Police General Officer.*

PANAGOTI SOFIANOPULO, *the Physician of Athens.*

N. KARARIS, *the Public Chancellor.*

LAMBRO PRATINO, *the President of Athens.*

GIO. FILIPEDI, *the General Chancellor.*

GIO. FILIOLO, *from Livadia.*

MICHAEL TIRUAVITTIS,

ANARGIRO PETRAKI,

GIO. PALLE,

ANAGNOSTI DE GEORGI,

ANAGNOSTI CHRISSULY,

GIO. PARDAGI,

The Demoteronti of Athens.

No. 29.

From the Athenians to the Greek Committee of London.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

To the respected Members of the Greek Committee in London.

Athens, 16th March, 1824.

THE most worthy of all strangers who have visited Greece, as well before as after her insurrection, to heal the wounds inflicted by her oppressors, to sympathize in her calamities, and to give advice for her improvement, has been your excellent countryman, Colonel Stanhope. His conduct has convinced the Greeks that the intentions of the Greek Committee are directed, with all disinterestedness, towards the good of Greece, and are not influenced by any political motive: but, in order that he may extend his usefulness, we earnestly desire that we may not be deprived of his good advice, and that he may remain in the provinces of continental Greece, between Athens and Thermopylæ, especially at the present critical moment, when Greece is threatened by internal as well as foreign dangers.

Gentlemen, as the protectors of the rights of mankind, well aware as you are of the political situation of a people which has just broken the chains of long tyranny and ignorance, you will not feel surprised at our request: we are induced to make it from a consciousness of its benefit and of our present critical situation.

We are, &c.

GIO. GHOOROTTI, *the Officer of the Garrison of Athens.*ANASTASIO ANAGNOSTI, *the Deputy of the Province of Lidorikio.*SATIRIO SERAPHIM, *the Police General Officer.*PANAGIOTI SOFIANOPULO, *the Physician of Athens.*N. KARARIS, *the Public Chancellor.*LAMBRO PRATINO, *the President of Athens.*GIO. FILIPIDI, *the General Chancellor.*GIO. FILIOLO, *from Livadia.*

MICHAEL TIRUAVITTIS,

ANARGIRO PETRAKI,

GIO. PALLE,

ANAGNOSTI DE GEORGI,

ANAGNOSTI CHRISULY,

GIO. PARDAGI,

} *the Demoteranti of Athens.*

No. 30.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From Panos Colocotroni to Col. Stanhope.

Napoli di Romania, 28th March, O. S. 1824.

I HAVE your two esteemed letters, one dated 20th March, from Athens, by M. C. Terakari, and the other of the 9th April, by the English frigate. I perceive that you wish me to send you the things which have arrived at Napoli di Romania from Missolonghi. I have to apologize for not sending them some time back, when your first request was made. I did not suppose that there was any thing besides a printing press, which was very much wanted here, and not knowing for what reason it had been sent, nor to whom it belonged, I immediately informed the government, which was then at Tripolitza, of its arrival, and I received directions from them to detain it. When I received the letter from General Goorha, in which he expressly told me that the press belonged to you, and desired me to deliver it to the bearer, who was your servant, in order that he might convey it to you, I was told that, according to the directions of the government, I could not deliver it up, unless I informed the government and demanded from them an order for its delivery : this I did immediately, but, owing to the unfortunate events which took place, I never received an answer. Agreeably to your suggestion, I am ready to permit Dr. Vigon to send you the press, as well as any thing else that may be here belonging to you. It will be sufficient for you to send your orders, with a boat to take them away, as we have none here. I regret, with all my soul, that you should have been inspired with other sentiments than those which are correct, concerning my desire to respect the law of nations and of humanity. I must, however, inform you, sir, and I do it in all sincerity, that, as I desire others to respect the rights of my country, so do I feel myself bound, with every good Greek, to revere the claims of others. I trust that you will give me credit for the reality of my sentiments, and not give ear to the malignant reports of evil-minded Greeks against me and my family.—Time will clear up these matters and elicit the truth. I deeply regret that you should have been so much inconvenienced before your arrival here. The facts, however, will show that the fault does not lie

with me. It is not more than an hour since M. Terakari arrived here with your first letter, as he was detained by the Milos; for what reason I know not.

I beg of you to consider me as your sincere friend, and I hope you will freely command me in whatever you shall think me able to serve you. In the meanwhile,

I remain, with all respect,

The Chief of the Garrison,

PANOS THEODORE COLOCOTRONI,

No. 31.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From General Goorha to Colonel Stanhope.

Chrissi, 2d April, 1824.

Noble Sir,

On the 25th March I received a letter from Odysseus, addressed to you, and sent it on to you by a boat which I hired for the purpose. I have not heard of her arrival, and, therefore, deem it proper to inform you of the contents of the said letter.

Odysseus requested that you would go to Salona, to which place our friends, Lord Byron and Prince Mavrocordato, were proceeding.

I arrived here this morning, accompanied by the deputies from Athens, Livadia, Thebes, and some others, and I leave this place to-morrow for Salona.

We were told by yourself and Lord Byron, that a general meeting of Eastern and Western Greece at Salona would be very beneficial to Greece, and tend to heal the existing differences, and, in consequence, we followed your advice. Odysseus is expected here either to-day or to-morrow, with the deputies from Eubœa and Talantino. We doubt not that you will perform your promise of going to Salona. I trust that you have by this time sent the press to Athens; to its influence I shall look for the improvement of Greece.

I am, &c.

JOHN GOORHA.

No. 32.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

*From Sofianopulo to Demetrius Ipsilanti.**

Prince,

THE frequency of my letters, and the too great force of my observations, are, perhaps, displeasing to you; but my duty to my country, and my respect for your family, oblige me to it, and I shall not desist until I receive your commands to that effect. The relations in which our friends here have, for some months past, placed themselves with Mavrocordato, had, for their sole object, the discovery of his designs and the prevention of all the mischief which his intrigues might entail upon the nation. The object which they proposed to themselves, and which they still principally have in view, is to deprive Mavrocordato of all the means which might be recommended to his direction, a thing of which your highness would by no means hear, but contented yourself with writing and speaking against him.

Now, having persuaded the English to quit Missolonghi, and to come hither, having secretly raised and excited against Mavrocordato his own organs, and having cast him down into that abyss into which he wished to precipitate our country and its defenders, we communicate the circumstance to you. Finally, this is what Ulysses and Goorha write against Mavrocordato's friends at Cranidi; this is what Ulysses writes against Mavrocordato himself, with his habitual sarcasm: at some future time, I shall communicate to you all that the English have said, and are going to write, against Mavrocordato.

According to the testimony of Colonel Stanhope, Envoy of the

* This letter, which was intercepted by the government, was sent to Missolonghi, and Mavrocordato and Parry declaimed against it and the factious Stanhope. I solicited the government and the editor of the Greek Chronicle to publish it, for the purpose of confounding the intriguers.

Greek Committee of London, the English took the part of the Cranidi people, in the first instance, only because they were deceived by Mavrocordato; but, having been since persuaded that Mavrocordato and those of Cranidi, instead of seeking the independence of Greece, are endeavouring, without the consent of the people, to invite kings, and to demand the protection of foreign powers, they have quitted the party of Mavrocordato and those of Cranidi, and now panegyricize the conduct of the Tripolitza people, with whom they are desirous of entering into correspondence, seeing that they desire only a national assembly, union, and a cessation of faction. Mavrocordato had so prejudiced the English against Ulysses, Niketas, and Colocotroni, that they could not listen to their names with patience: but the conferences of Colonel Stanhope with Ulysses, although very brief, and his acquaintance with Goorha, and other persons of good sentiments, have compelled him to declare that the fall of Mavrocordato, the introduction of D. Ipsilanti into the national government, and the reinforcement of the government with Colliopulo and Goorha, are the only means of securing the independence of Greece and the consolidation of her laws, by putting a stop to civil war and intestine disturbances.

At present, it has been considered necessary to cause proclamations to be issued by the legislative body, to invite Lord Byron to Tripolitza, to excommunicate the Cranidi people, to call Goorha and Colliopulo to seats in the government, to compose its executive force, and to despatch a thousand men from the Peloponnesus, with ammunition and provisions, to occupy the position of Amphorite; all these dispositions will replace affairs on their proper footing. It is useless to dilate upon this subject; while continental Greece is occupied in defending itself against the enemy, and while the Peloponnesians think only of sharing the revenues among themselves, we hope to succeed in our designs.

I am, &c. &c.

PANAGOTI SOFIANOPULO.

Athens, 25th February, N.S. 1824.

To His Highness Prince D. Ipsilanti, at Napoli di Romania.

No. 33.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From the Prefect of Ægina to Colonel Stanhope.

Ægina, 18th April, 1824.

Sir,

YOUR secretary was the bearer of my last letter ; the bearer of the present is a printer, named George Paroligi, who is recommended to you by the Spetziots : if your wish is to employ the press at present here, please to make an agreement with the above printer and his companion, and send them here.

The Greek fleet was preparing to sail against the enemy's.

We have seen in a newspaper, which the above printer brought from Hydra, that the two emperors would have the goodness to protect us by putting our necks in chains. They may think as they like. Greece will prefer total extermination to suffering under their yoke. Long live Liberty ! Long live the free people of Great Britain !

I have letters from Argos, announcing that Napoli di Romania was about to surrender.

Please to let me know the news you have from Missolonghi, and the state of Lord Byron's health.

I am, &c.

JOHN LOGOTHETI.

No. 34.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From General Odysseus to Colonel Stanhope.

Salona, 22d April, 1824.

Sir,

You have asked my opinion relative to the manner in which the Greeks should make war with the Sultan. Always ready to satisfy your just curiosity, I hasten to give you my ideas on that subject. Our present frontier is so feeble that it is necessary to act offensively ; but this cannot be effected till the winter, when the Turkish armies are disbanded. This summer we must limit our operations to the defensive.

As Greece comprehends many islands, peninsulas, and gulfs, and is surrounded by the sea, a maritime force is absolutely necessary. I am of opinion that the whole fleet should be stationed in the vicinity of Ipsara, and should watch this passage, by which the Turkish fleet must pass.

There are two great roads by which the enemy may invade Greece—that of Arta and that of Zeitouni. To prevent the Turks from advancing into Livadia, Salona, &c. 2000 troops should be despatched to Stetheda (near St. Marino), and supplies should be sent them by sea. Of these troops, 500 should be placed between Zeitouni and Larissa, to cut the enemy's line of communication. Two thousand soldiers should also be stationed in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. The plain between the sea and the mountain should be fortified with redoubts, field-works, &c.; and a third corps of 3000 should be stationed in the province of Neopatra; of these, 2000 should be encamped at Altos, and the rest near this place, hid in the woods. After the Turks have engaged their enemy all day at Altos, those in ambush should start up at night and attack their rear, and throw them into confusion.

A corps of 5000 should be sent to the district of Marrenorso, 3000 of these should be sent to a defile of the same name, and the other 2000 spread about in the neighbourhood.

By these means, Sir, the enemy, consisting of about 60,000 men, would be prevented from penetrating into Greece by either of the two roads before mentioned, and 12,000 Greeks, having all the necessaries of war, and being properly defended by field-works, would be able to repulse the enemy. It is, however, to be understood that the Greeks must be masters of the seas, or my plan would not be effective. This plan includes the measures to be adopted during the summer's campaign.

It is for the government to decide what number of soldiers are required for the attack and defence of the fortresses, and for the police of the country.

It is not necessary to remind you that the interest of my august country and of your dear Greece require that this plan should be kept a secret from the enemy.

I am, with profound respect,

Your most obedient servant,

ODYSSEUS TRITZO.

No. 35.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From Coletti to Col. Stanhope.

Millus, 18th April, 1824.

Noble Sir,

I RECEIVED, with great pleasure, your esteemed letter of ———, and regret to see the dangerous state of Lord Byron's health. I sincerely desire his recovery. He is dear to Greece, and it were most lamentable to lose so much philanthropy and so much genius.

I have sent to the government your communication respecting the Greek loan. I trust that the money will arrive here very soon. The enemy has commenced operations, and we, on the contrary, cannot stir, on account of our poverty. Every nation finds money, in time of war, the most necessary of all things.

The body of enemies to the Greek constitution in Tripolitza is dissolved, and every one has retired to his own country: they will be pursued by the friends of the charter until they will be compelled to surrender themselves to the law, and to receive their merited punishment.

I can assure you that the Greeks wish for a representative government. The meanest Greek citizen knows the nature of a constitution, a legislative and executive body, and he understands, in consequence, the meaning of a representative government. In the cause of this government the Greeks have shed their blood. Napoli di Romania is almost reduced; there are not more than 250 soldiers in it, and I hope soon to have the pleasure of advising you of its surrender to the government.

What is doing at Salona? What is intended? What has been done? If you think they are acting beneficially towards the government and the constitutional charter, co-operate with them; if not, act as a virtuous and philanthropic Greek citizen ought to act.

Wishing you would write to me oftener,

I remain, &c.

JOHN COLETTI.

No. 36.

From the Greek Deputies in London to Col. Stanhope.

Londres, le 18 Mars, 1824.

Monsieur,

Vous aurez reçu la lettre, que nous avons eu l'honneur de vous écrire en date du 23 Février dernier, par laquelle nous félicitons et nous et notre patrie du choix concordé avec MM. les emprunteurs de votre illustre personne pour un des commissaires chargés non seulement de procurer la ratification du contrat de l'emprunt de la part de notre gouvernement, mais aussi de l'objet très important du recouvrement de l'argent emprunté et de sa remission au dit gouvernement. Sans doute nous étions convaincus, comme nous le sommes toujours, qu'il n'étoit pas possible de faire un meilleur choix que celui qui vous concerne. Et s'il y avoit eu quelque chose à désirer pour satisfaire notre conscience, nous devons vous l'avouer, l'approbation du célèbre Jurisconsulte Bentham, qui rendit toute la justice due à vos mérites dans les entretiens que nous eumes avec lui, auroit pleinement rassasié nos souhaits.

Mais au milieu de tant de contentement nous avons dû éprouver la peine de nous voir obligés à penser à votre remplacement, auquel nous avons accédé seulement par mesure provisoire, et dans l'espoir qu'elle n'avoit été qu'une précaution en dernière analyse inutile. M. — nous représenta que d'après les observations (nous croyons) du ministre Canning, et autres données qu'il cita, il étoit presque sûr que vous alliez revenir bientôt en Angleterre, et que par là vous ne pouviez plus vous acquitter de la commission sus-annoncée. Dans l'urgence de la chose nous ne pûmes nous dispenser de donner poids à cette allegation, et de pourvoir à votre remplacement, mais dans la circonstance qu'il va partir un courrier extraordinaire pour Lord Byron et qu'il y apportera le contrat, de la ratification duquel doit s'occuper notre gouvernement, nous nous empressons de vous instruire de tout ce qui dessus, soit pour vous prier de ne point cesser de vous occuper du bien de notre patrie, et en particulier de l'objet de la ratification susdite, de laquelle dépend l'entrée des fonds nécessaires pour assurer ce bien, et consolider le même gouvernement, soit pour connoître directement de vous, si vraiment vous êtes décidé de quitter la Grèce, ou vous pouvez au contraire remplir la dite commission,

dont vous n'êtes dispensé que provisoirement et sur la doute ci avant exposée. Veuillez donc, monsieur, nous satisfaire sur ce propos et joindre cet acte de générosité de votre part à tant de motifs de gratitude, que nous et notre chère patrie nous vous devons déjà. En attendant, vous qui avez la connoissance de notre pays et des opinions qui y regnent, vous saurez aussi nous dire dans la vue de faire l'intérêt de la Grèce, si vous n'êtes pas d'avis ainsi que nous le sommes, que parmi les commissaires chargés de la besogne susdite, il n'est pas convenable qu'au moins l'un soit Grec : car vous saurez combien la malveillance a déjà travaillé à repandre en Grèce et parmi les trop bons Hellenes, le bruit que le gouvernement mettoit la Grèce à la merci des Anglais. Ce bruit peut toujours servir de prétexte ou pour retarder le bien de notre patrie, ou pour lui attirer des maux, en donnant lieu à la naissance des partis et à la division de cette force qui consiste dans l'union de tous les Hellenes. D'après cette vue, et ainsi dans le but de faire cesser ces bruits et sujets de discorde, et jamais dans celui d'avoir besoin de parir à une injuste méfiance vis-à-vis de personnages aussi connus et distingués comme les Anglais élus commissaires, nous avons pensé de leur joindre le Grec Lazaro Conduriotis d'Hydra, que nous jugeons l'homme le plus recommandable de la Grèce. Sans doute que celui-ci, aidé par les braves Anglois, et ceux-ci secondés par la réputation et les qualités de celui-là contribueront, sans donner lieu au moindre inconvenient, à faire tout ce que le bonheur de notre patrie exige, et que son gouvernement peut réclamer. Si nous n'avions à faire, nous le repétons, qu'avec des hommes illuminés, nul doute que le choix fait des commissaires Anglois, et de ceux même qui ont été proposés pour votre remplacement, tel que le Colonel * * * (qui a écrit à ce sujet à Lord Byron) et Thomas Gordon pouvoit être plus que tranquillisant pour la Grèce : mais dans le système des choses actuelles de la Grèce et dans celui de la forme du gouvernement qui la régit, nous devons et le gouvernement même doit ménager les idées bonnes ou fausses de la masse, qui, comme vous savez, ne peut, au sortir de l'esclavage, être instruite et éclairée. Quant au contrât, il est passé de la meilleure manière qu'il pouvoit se passer en égard à toutes les circonstances ; nous espérons que la bonne foi des personnes, qui ont dirigé cet emprunt, suppléera aux clauses, que nous aurions pu faire insérer, s'il n'avoit pas été question d'un contrât qui devoit se présenter dans le public, comme tout-à-fait rassurant pour les emprunteurs. Au surplus son exécution, pour ainsi dire, confiée aux braves commissaires, remplira les lacunes, qui

pourraient être imputées au contrat, en remplissant le véritable bût dans lequel et pour lequel le contrat est passé.

Veuillez, Monsieur, nous honorer d'une réponse pour nôtre tranquillité, et nous mettre en même de vous témoigner combien sont réels les sentimens de gratitude et d'estime que vous nous professons et avec lesquels nous avons l'honneur de nous renouveler .

Vos très humbles et très fidèles serviteurs,

JEAN ORLANDO.

AND. LURIOTTIS.

A Monsieur M. le Col. Stanhope, &c. &c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

London, 18th March, 1824.

Sir,

You have received the letter which we had the honour to write to you under date of the 23d February last, in which we congratulate both ourselves and our country on the choice, agreed on with the contractors for the loan, of your illustrious self, as one of the commission, charged not only with procuring the ratification of the contract from our government, but also with the very important object of the receipt of the money lent, and of its transmission to the said government. Doubtless we were convinced, as we still are, that it was impossible to make a better choice than of you, and, had there needed any thing to satisfy our consciences, we must confess that the approbation of the celebrated Jurisconsult Bentham, who rendered all the justice due to your merits, in our conversations with him, would have fully met our wishes.

But in the midst of this satisfaction, we found ourselves placed under the painful necessity of providing for your replacement, to which we have acceded only as a provisional measure, and in the hope that it will turn out, in the end, a useless precaution. Mr. — represented to us that, in consequence of the observations (we believe) of Mr. Secretary Canning, and of other data which he cited, he was almost certain that you would speedily return to England, and that you would thus be disabled from undertaking the commission above announced. In the urgency of the affair, we could not help giving weight to this statement, and providing for your replacement; but, as an extraordinary courier is about to be despatched to Lord Byron, and as he will take with him the contract, with the ratification by

which our government will be pledged, we hasten to inform you of all that has occurred, both in order to beg of you not to cease to interest yourself in the good of our country, and particularly in the aforesaid ratification, on which depends the receipt of the funds necessary to secure that good, and to consolidate the government, and also to know, directly from yourself, whether you have really decided on quitting Greece, where you may otherwise fulfil the said commission, from which you are only displaced provisionally, in consequence of the doubt before expressed. Have the goodness, sir, to satisfy us on this head, and to add this act of generosity on your part to the numerous causes of gratitude which we and our dear country already owe you. In the meanwhile, you, who are acquainted with our country, and with the opinions which prevail there, will be able also to tell us, with a view to the interest of Greece, if you are not of opinion with us, that, among the commissioners charged with the aforesaid business, it is proper that one, at least, should be a Greek; for you know how malevolence has already laboured to spread throughout Greece, and among the excellent Hellenists, a rumour that the government was placing Greece at the mercy of the English. This rumour may still serve as a pretext either to delay the good of our country, or to overwhelm it with misfortunes, by giving birth both to parties, and to the division of that force which consists in the union of all the Greeks. Acting on these considerations, and with the view of putting a stop to these rumours and subjects of discord, and with no intention of entertaining an unjust suspicion with regard to persons so well known and so distinguished as the Englishmen who have been chosen commissioners, we have thought of joining to them the Greek Lazaro Conduriottis of Hydra, whom we consider the fittest man in Greece. Undoubtedly, this gentleman, assisted by the noble English, and the latter, seconded by his reputation and qualities, will contribute, without giving occasion to the slightest inconvenience, to do every thing which the happiness of our country demands, and which its government can require. If we had to act only, we repeat, with enlightened men, without doubt, the choice made of the English commissioners, and even of those who have been proposed for your replacement, such as Colonel * * * (who has written on the subject to Lord Byron) and Thomas Gordon, would be fully satisfactory to Greece; but, in the actual state of affairs in Greece, and under her form of government, we ought, and the government also ought, to conciliate the opinions, true or false, of the mass, who, as you know,

cannot, on emerging from slavery, become all at once informed and enlightened.

With respect to the contract, it has been completed in the best manner possible, under all the circumstances: we hope that the good faith of those who have had the direction of this loan will supply the want of the clauses which we might have had inserted, had we not had to manage a contract to be presented before the public as perfectly satisfactory to the borrowers. For the rest, its execution, so to speak, being confided to the noble commissioners, will fill up the omissions which might be imputed to the contract, by effecting the true object for which the contract has been made.

Have the goodness, sir, to honour us with an answer for our satisfaction, and to put us in a condition to testify to you the reality of the sentiments of gratitude and esteem which we profess towards you, and with which we have the honour to remain,

Your most humble and faithful servants,

JORN ORLANDO,

AND. LURIOTTIS.

To Col Stanhope, &c. &c. &c.

No. 37.

From the same to the same.

Londres, le 26 Mars, 1824.

Monsieur,

CETTE lettre vous parviendra par le moyen du vaisseau qui apporte la somme de 40,000 livres sterling.

Nous n'envoyons pas le contrat, puisque nous l'envoyons directement au gouvernement, s'étant chargés de vous la remettre MM. les prêteurs.

Après que nous vous avons écrit notre précédente lettre du 18 Mars, nous avons jugé à-propos de faire partir pour la Grèce M. Polysoides, duquel vous apprendrez le motif de cette détermination.

Quelles esperances n'avons nous pas, et ne mettons nous pas maintenant en vous, monsieur, pour le triomphe de notre cause. L'argent, qui manquoit, arrive et arrivera, et avec lui on fera tout ce que le bien de notre patrie exige. Tout le monde ici rend justice aux merites

de vous, Monsieur, et regardent la Grèce comme une nation heureuse, puisque une personne, telle que vous, s'intéresse si vivement et co-opère à son indépendance.

Agréez l'hommage de notre profond respect.

Vos fidèles et dévoués serviteurs,

JEAN ORLANDO.

AND. LURIOTTIS.

A Monsieur M. le Col. Stanhope, Missolonghi.

TRANSLATION.

London, 26th March, 1824.

Sir,

THIS letter will reach you by means of the vessel which takes out the sum of £40,000 sterling.

We do not send the contract, because we send it direct to the government, the lenders having undertaken to transmit it to you.

After having written our former letter of the 18th March, we thought proper to send to Greece M. Polysoides, from whom you will learn the reason of this determination.

What hopes do we not entertain, and do we not place at present in you, Sir, for the triumph of our cause? The money, which was wanting, arrives and will arrive, and with it every thing will be done which the good of our country requires. Every body here does justice to your merits, and looks upon Greece as a happy nation, since an individual like yourself interests himself so actively, and co-operates in the acquisition of her independence.

Receive the homage of our profound respect.

Your faithful and devoted servants,

JOHN ORLANDO.

AND. LURIOTTIS.

To Col. Stanhope, Missolonghi.

No. 38.

Extract of a Letter from Jeremy Bentham, Esq. to the Greek Deputies in London.

Chers Enfants,

* * * * * STANHOPE, homme qui pour la cause de la Grèce y consacre actuellement les deux tiers de son médiocre revenu :

et de toutes les personnes qui, uniquement pour vous donner ce gage d'amitié, se sont portées à concourir à ce sacrifice, il n'y en'a aucune qui n'a pas de ce même Stanhope la plus haute idée que l'on puisse avoir : c'est à dire en tous points—sagesse aussi bien que probité, philanthropie, et attachement à la cause de la liberté en Grèce.

Quant à moi, ce que je connais, et ce que je pense de ce même Stanhope ne vous est pas encore (je crois) connu. Le voici. D'après une étude des plus soignées que j'en ai fait depuis environ une année, je crois ne rien risquer à dire que je placerai toute la réputation que je puisse avoir sur la tête de cet homme, de façon que s'il se comportait mal, de quelle manière que ce fut, on dirait, Bentham s'est trompé lourdement; il ne connaît pas les hommes. Je ne finirois pas, si j'entreprenais vous le peindre : * * * * *
 fils et allié des plus hautes familles que nous ayons, * * *

se depouillant, les yeux ouverts et toujours sans amertume, de toute chance de promotion et de faveur, en plaidant par ses écrits pour la liberté de la presse, et en plaidant de la même manière pour le soldat contre la tyrannie militaire, dans la vue de porter les gens d'ici d'abolir la peine afflictive du fouet, comme on a fait presque partout ailleurs. * * * * *

Quant à Stanhope je vais prendre sur moi de vous envoyer, c'est à dire à notre Anglais Luriottis, une des lettres de l'honorable Colonel à moi : c'est la seule que j'ai reçue de lui en propre depuis qu'il est parti pour la Grèce, dans ce voyage, où par ses vertus et ses bonnes manières, il a fait la conquête de l'Allemagne et de la Suisse Philhellénique, lesquelles l'ont mis à leur tête : voilà la seule qu'il m'a adressée, mais il est correspondant constant du Comité, dont il est agent, et à peine y-a-t-il une lettre de lui, où il n'y a pas quelque mot sur moi, dans le même sens que celle-ci. J'en ai vu trois lettres de lui plus récentes, et écrites de la Grèce même : et j'ai eu le bonheur de voir qu'elles sont de beaucoup plus encourageantes. "*Mais vous êtes partial en sa faveur,*" me direz-vous : oh que oui. Mais voici de quelle manière ; ce n'est pas de ce qu'il est devenu mon ami, que j'ai cette opinion de lui, mais de ce que, d'après la bonne opinion que je voyais que tout le monde avait de lui, que je me suis déterminé d'en faire un ami, en lui ouvrant cette porte, que je suis obligé de tenir fermée contre la foule qui autrement voudraient m'envahir le peu de momens que je puis encore rester sur la terre.

Eh bien ! si après avoir lu cette lettre, il vous arrive de partager avec moi, l'opinion que je ne puis manquer d'avoir de Stanhope, et de vouloir que l'on ait bonne opinion de vous, faites vous même la proposition, mon Luriottis, de remettre où il était le nom de ce même Stanhope.

Malheureusement, s'il était le contraire de ce que tout le monde sait qu'il est, vous ne risqueriez que très peu en accédant à cette proposition : car j'ai bien peu d'esperance qu'il puisse rester en Grèce. Etant un de 10 enfans qu'a son père, tous vivans, la modique fortune que sa vertu lui a permis de faire aux Indes, ne suffirait pas pour son entretien, sans sa paye de Colonel : et si pour ce qu'il avait fait, on avait envie de faire pour la cause de la Grèce, il arrivait à la Sainte Alliance de demander qu'il fut destitué, on ne manquerait pas de le faire destituer, pour garder la neutralité qu'on avait promise. Or il est constant qu'il y a quelque tems que l'ainé de Stanhope lui a écrite une lettre pressante : ainsi chaque jour, une des choses que je crains le plus, c'est de le voir entre mes bras.

D'ailleurs, faites à son égard ce que vous jugez à propos : vous n'aurez pas de lui le moindre ressentiment à craindre : il n'en est pas capable.

* * * * *

Toujours votre affectionné père,

JEREMY BENTHAM.

TRANSLATION.

Queen's-Square-Place, Westminster,
15th March, 1824.

My dear Children,

* * * STANHOPE, who actually consecrates to the cause of Greece two-thirds of his moderate income ; and of all the persons who, solely for the purpose of giving you this pledge of friendship, have been induced to concur in this sacrifice, there is not one who does not entertain of this same Stanhope the highest possible opinion, that is to say, in all points—wisdom as well as probity, philanthropy, and attachment to the cause of liberty in Greece.

As for me, what I know and what I think of Stanhope is (I believe) yet unknown to you. After a most careful study, to which I have subjected him for about a year past, I believe that I run no risk in saying, that I will stake all the reputation which I may possess

upon his head, in such a manner that if he were to conduct himself ill, in any respect whatever, it might be said, Bentham has been grossly deceived—he knows nothing of mankind. I should never have done were I to begin to depict him to you, * * * son and ally of the highest families of our country, * * * he has stripped himself, with his eyes open, and altogether without any bitter feeling, of every chance of promotion and of favour, by pleading in his writings for the liberty of the press, and also by pleading in the same manner for the soldier against military tyranny, with the view of inducing our government to abolish the afflicting punishment of flogging, as has been done in almost every other country. * * *

With respect to Stanhope, I will take upon myself to send you, that is to say to our Englishman Luriottis, one of the letters of the honourable Colonel to myself; it is the only one which I have received from him addressed to me personally, since he departed for Greece, on that journey, in the course of which, by his virtues and his good conduct, he has made the conquest of Philhellenic Germany and Switzerland, which have placed him at their head. This is the only one which he has addressed to me, but he is a constant correspondent of the Committee, whose agent he is; and scarcely is there a letter from him in which there is not a word on me in the same sense as this. I have seen three letters from him of later date, and written from Greece itself, and I have had the good fortune to see that they are much more encouraging. "*But you are partial in his favour,*" you will say. I confess it: but how? It is not because he has become my friend that I entertain this opinion of him, but because, in consequence of the good opinion which I saw that every body entertained of him, I resolved to make a friend of him, and to open for him the door which I am compelled to keep closed against the crowd, which would otherwise invade the few moments which I may yet pass upon earth:

Well! If, after having read this letter, you should happen to share with me the opinion which I cannot help entertaining of Stanhope, and to wish me to entertain a good opinion of yourself, make yourself the proposition, my Luriottis, of replacing the name of Stanhope where it was before.

Unfortunately, if he were the contrary of what every body knows him to be, you would risk very little by acceding to this proposition, for I have very little hope that he can remain in Greece. Being one of ten children, who are all living, the moderate fortune which his

virtue has permitted him to make in India, would be insufficient for his maintenance without his pay of a Colonel, and it has been just signified, that if, for what he had done or had wished to do for the cause of the Greeks, the Holy Alliance should happen to require his deprivation, he would not fail to be deprived of his rank, in order to preserve the promised neutrality. Now, it is certain, that it is some time since Stanhope's elder brother wrote him a pressing letter; so that every day one of the things which I fear most is to see him in my arms.

For the rest, do with respect to him what you think proper; you will not have the least resentment to fear on his part, for he is incapable of it.

* * * * *

Ever your affectionate father,

JEREMY BENTHAM.

No. 39.

From Captain Trelawny to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, April 28th, 1824.

My dear Colonel,

WITH all my anxiety I could not get here before the third day. It was the second, after having crossed the first great torrent, that I met some soldiers from Missolonghi. I had let them all pass me, ere I had resolution enough to inquire the news from Missolonghi. I then rode back and demanded of a straggler the news. I heard nothing more than—Lord Byron is dead,—and I proceeded on in gloomy silence. With all his faults I loved him truly; he is connected with every event of the most interesting years of my wandering life: his every-day companion,—we lived in ships, boats, and in houses together,—we had no secrets,—no reserve, and, though we often differed in opinion, never quarrelled. If it gave me pain witnessing his frailties, he only wanted a little excitement to awaken and put forth *virtues* that redeemed them all. He was an only child,—early an orphan,—the world adopted him and spoilt him,—his conceptions were so noble when his best elements were aroused, that we, his

friends, considered it pure inspiration. He was violent and capricious. In one of his moments of frailty, two years back, he could think of nothing which could give him so much pleasure as saving money, and he talked of nothing but its accumulation, and the power and respect it would be the means of giving him; and so much did he indulge in this contemptible vice, that we, his friends, began to fear it would become his leading passion; however, as in all his other passions, he indulged it to satiety, and then grew weary. I was absent from him in Rome when he wrote me from Genoa, and said, "Trelawny, you must have heard I am going to Greece, why do you not come to me? I can do nothing without you, and am exceedingly anxious to see you; pray come, for I am at last determined to go to Greece, it is the only place I was ever contented in. I am serious, and did not write before, as I might have given you a journey for nothing: they all say I can be of use to Greece; I do not know how, nor do they; but, at all events, let's go." I who had long despaired of getting him out of Italy, to which he had become attached from habit, indolence, and strong ties; I lost no time; every thing was hurried on, and, from the moment he left Genoa, though twice driven back, his ruling passion became ambition of a name, or rather by one great effort to wipe out the memory of those deeds which his enemies had begun to rather freely descant on in the public prints, and to make his name as great in glorious acts, as it already was by his writings.

He wrote a song the other day on his birth-day, his thirty-sixth year, strongly exemplifying this.—It is the most beautiful and touching of all his songs, for he was not very happy at composing them. It is here amongst his papers.

" If thou regret thy youth, *why* live?
 The land of honourable death
 Is here. Up to the field and give
 Away thy breath.
 Awake! *not* Greece, *she* is awake!
 Awake! *my* spirit.

He died on the 19th April, at six o'clock at night; the two last days he was altogether insensible, and died so, apparently without pain. From the first moment of his illness, he expressed on this, as on all former occasions, his *dread* of pain and fearlessness of death.

He talked chiefly of Ada, both in his sensible and insensible state. He had much to say, and many directions to leave, as was manifest from his calling Fletcher, Tita, Gamba, Parry, to his bed-side; his lips moved, but he could articulate nothing distinctly. "Ada—my sister—wife—say—do you understand my directions?" said he, to Fletcher, after muttering thus for half an hour, about—"Say this to Ada,"—"this to my sister,"—wringing his hands; "Not a word, my Lord," said Fletcher.—"That's a pity," said he, "for 'tis now too late,—for I shall die or go *mad*." He then raved, said—"I will not live a madman, for I can destroy myself." I know the reason of this fear he had of losing his senses; he had lately, on his voyage from Italy, read, with deep interest, Swift's life, and was always talking to me of his horrible fate. Byron's malady was a rheumatic fever; was brought on by getting wet after violent perspiration from hard riding, and neglecting to change his clothes. Its commencement was trifling. On the 10th he was taken ill; his doctors urged him to be bled, but this was one of his greatest prejudices,—he abhorred bleeding. Medicine was not efficient; the fever gained rapid ground, and on the third day the blood showed a tendency to mount to his head; he then submitted to bleeding, but it proved too late; it had already affected his brain, and this caused his death. Had he submitted to bleeding on its first appearance, he would have assuredly recovered in a few days. On opening him, a great quantity of blood was found in the head and brain; the latter, his brain, the doctor says, was a third greater in quantity than is usually found, weighing four pounds. His heart is likewise strikingly large, but performed its functions feebly, and was very exhausted; his liver much too small, which was the reason of that deficiency of bile, which necessitated him to continually stimulate his stomach by medicine. His body was in a perfect state of health and soundness. They say his only malady was a strong tendency of the blood to mount to the head, and weakness of the vessels there; that he could not, for this reason, have lived more than six or seven years more. I do not exactly understand this; but the doctor is going to write me a medical account of his illness, death, and state of his body.

His remains are preparing to send by way of Zante to England, he having left no directions on this head. I shall ever regret I was not with him when he gave up his mortality.

Your pardon, Stanhope, that I have turned aside from the great cause in which I am embarked; but this is no private grief; the

world has lost its greatest man, I my best friend, and that must be my excuse for having filled a letter with this one subject. To-morrow, for Mavrocordato has delayed my courier till his letters are ready, I will return to duty.

Yours, very sincerely,

EDWARD TRELAWNY.

No. 40.

From Captain Trelawny to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, April 28th, 1824.

Dear Stanhope,

Your impatient spirit will ill brook my delay, but I am at the fountain head of procrastination. The pestilential fever of these torpid waters seems to have infected every thing; the atmosphere is as dense as a November in London, and it is infected by reptiles;—every thing is transacted, not under the rose, but under the mud;—imbecile councils,—intriguing people,—greedy soldiers, and factious captains, are the beings I have to deal with in this Ionian sand (or rather slime) isthmus, cut off, as it most wisely is, (as we prune an unsightly scion from a beautiful tree,) from classic Greece. But enough of episodes.

There have been meetings and orations enough to settle all the affairs of Greece, if talking would do it, and all that is yet settled is, that the great body of captains, or generals as they designate themselves, will not attend the congress; however, they are to nominate representatives, with full power. Anagnosti Cariacci and Maceru have likewise promised to attend; and they have promised to nominate the deputies to-morrow, two in number, and these four, with our Salona envoy, will depart for Salona on the 29th. I have so clearly pointed out to Mavrocordato the advantage of his attending in person the congress, and through your good offices to effect a reconciliation with Odysseus, that he has pledged himself to accompany me to Salona in three or four days; for I have told him what we thought of that general, without reserve, and I see he thinks as I do, that he will be obliged to return to Hydra, that is, if they will receive him, except he is aided by the muscular arm of Odysseus.

Mavrocordato and his friends wish me to mention to you about the Suliots, their pay, and the difficulties he is placed in with them. I enclose papers they have written me. Gamba says he can do nothing. However, you are as bold as you are independent, and your opinion will be of value.

I have been employed in arranging the affairs of my lost friend, sealing papers, and his body is in spirits, and Gamba and his household will depart in two or three days for Zante, and thence to England.

Every one here, I mean the English artificers and brigade, now wish to join Odysseus, or, at least, leave this hole. I know you will say I have seduced them. I like the brigade corps. The Committee stores are most useful.

Oblige me by letting Finlay read these letters. I have not time to write him now.

TRELAWNY.

No. 41.

From Mavrocordato to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, 15-27 Avril, 1824.

Monsieur le Colonel,

M. DE TRELAWNY m'a exactement remis votre lettre du 19. Je sens très vivement la perte qui vous afflige, et qui s'est sans doute accru par celle d'un ami que nous ne saurons jamais assez pleurer.

Cette malheureuse circonstance à jusques à présent retardé mon départ pour Salona. Je tâche d'arranger le plutôt possible les affaires qui exigent ma présence ici, pour venir vous rejoindre. Mon désir est de m'entendre surtout avec le Général Ulysse et avec vous sur ce qui regarde les affaires générales de la Grèce.

M. de Trelawny vous fera parvenir la traduction d'un mémoire qui nous fut présenté par le conseil provincial et par la commune de cette ville. Vous savez tout ce qui s'est passé avec les Suliotes. Vous connaissez aussi l'état du pays; il ne vous reste à connaître que les Suliotes sont dans la ville d'Anatolico, d'où ils ne sortiront pas bien sûrement sans avoir reçu leur solde pour les deux mois passés. En supposant même que les héritiers de Milord ne voudraient pas recon-

naitre cet engagement, je ne vois aucun autre moyen que celui de tirer cette somme sur nos députés, qui la rembourseront aux héritiers de Milord. J'espère que votre opinion sera parfaitement d'accord avec la notre.

J'écris peu de mots au Général Ulysse en me réservant de lui écrire plus en détail demain. Vous pouvez mieux que personne le persuader que la seule manière d'immortaliser son nom est celle de suivre le sentier de l'honneur, et du vrai patriotisme.

Veuillez bien agréer, Monsieur le Colonel, l'assurance de mon devouement, et d'une considération la plus distinguée.

A. MAVROCORDATO.

A Monsieur,

M. le très honorable Col. L. Stanhope, &c. &c.

à Salona.

TRANSLATION.

Missolonghi, 15-27 April, 1824.

Colonel,

MR. TRELAWNY has punctually delivered to me your letter of the 19th inst. I feel most deeply the loss which afflicts you, and which will undoubtedly be increased by that of a friend whom we shall never be able sufficiently to lament.

This unfortunate occurrence has hitherto retarded my departure for Salona; but I am endeavouring to arrange, as soon as possible, the affairs which require my presence here, in order to rejoin you there. My particular desire is to come to an understanding with General Odyseus and yourself on the general affairs of Greece.

Mr. Trelawny will transmit to you the translation of a memorial presented to us by the Provincial Council, and by the commonalty of this town. You know all that has occurred with respect to the Suliots; you are also acquainted with the state of the country; it only remains to inform you that the Suliots are in the town of Anatolico, from whence they certainly will not depart without receiving their pay for the two last months. Supposing that his Lordship's heirs should refuse to recognise his engagement, I see no other means than to draw for this sum upon our deputies, who will repay it to his Lordship's heirs. I hope that your opinion will be perfectly in unison with mine.

I write a few words to General Ulysses, reserving myself to write

to him more in detail to-morrow. You can, better than any body, persuade him that the only way to immortalize his name is to pursue the path of honour and true patriotism.

Receive, Colonel, the assurance of my devotion, and of the most distinguished consideration.

A. MAVROCORDATO.

*To the Hon. Col. Stanhope, &c. &c.
at Salona.*

No. 42.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

From the Authorities of Missolonghi.

Missolonghi, 11th April, 1824.

Gentlemen,

THE wants of Greece, and particularly of these parts, are known to every one. Lord Noel Byron, on his arrival here, promised to the government to pay a monthly salary to the Suliots during all the time of the war. He, besides, promised to pay five hundred soldiers more, but these only for three months. In consequence of these generous offers from his Lordship, the government engaged the said number of men since the beginning of January, at the rate of 30 piastres the Suliots, and 20 the others, with some larger allowances for the officers. This salary was to be paid to these 500 men at the end of the three months.

According to this engagement, and on the request of the Suliots, his Lordship advanced to the Suliots, on the 9th of February, the January's pay in 1544 Spanish dollars. They have now to receive the pay of the next two months till the end of March; and the other five hundred men to be paid for three months.

We are not ignorant that his Lordship was disgusted with the conduct of the Suliots in February; but the above-mentioned engagement was already taken, and the government was bound to fulfil it by its documents.

Sudden death having unfortunately deprived us of his person and assistance, we present to you the account of the said engagement down to the end of March, which is as follows:

Two months' pay for the Suliots	\$3088
Three months' pay for 500 men.....	3000
Thirty officers, at 5 \$ each	450
Two generals, at 40 \$.....	240

Spanish dollars..... \$6778

This request seems to us just, as the government, conscious as it was of its poverty, would never have engaged itself to pay salaries to soldiers in this way, and to put itself under this great inconvenience.

You, gentlemen, are requested particularly to examine this business, and to be pleased to order the payment of this sum.

We have the honour, &c. &c.

The Counsellors of the Government.

SANO GALANI,
GIOVANNI TRICUPI,
TAZZI MAGINA,
GEORGIO ENIAN.

The Ephores of Missolonghi.

APOSTOLI CAPSALI.
SERGIO PAPASOGLU,
GEORGIO FARANDO,
ANASTASIO VALSAMACHI.

No. 43.

From Captain Trelawny to Col. Stanhope.

Missolonghi, April 28th, 1824.

Dear Stanhope,

LETTERS from Zante inform us of the arrival there of Mr. Blaquiere, in the ship Florida, having made an extraordinary quick passage. He has brought out in specie four hundred thousand pounds sterling, consigned to the house of Barff. I am sorry for Greece, that neither you nor * * * are in the commission. I hear nothing of * * *, and conclude, if he is coming, that he has some portion of the loan for some particular service; bringing out ships with regulars, &c. but to-morrow we shall hear further from Zante, and your letter will, I conclude, enlighten you. Blaquiere is going straight to the Morea. I know not if he will land here; if he does, I will come on with him to Salona. Do, for God's sake! however, see Gordon and Blaquiere; and now Lord Byron is no more, some one must be for the time added to the commission, certainly you or * * *, or things will not go well. Advise Odysseus what he had

best do. The government will be now at once effective, and sweep every obstacle before its golden torrent. The past must be wiped out: no bickerings of what has been done, but what is to be done. I will write a note to Blaquiere to see you as soon as possible. I shall certainly be at Salona in a few days, most anxious to have your opinion and advice on this new state of things.

Believe me, dear Colonel,

Yours, very truly,

EDWARD TRELAWNY.

P.S. Where is Humphreys? Let him attend on Gordon. I still hope * * * will come out with Gordon.

I think Byron's name was the great means of getting the loan. A Mr. Marshall, with £8000 per annum, was as far as Corfu, and turned back on hearing of Lord B.'s death. I hear nothing of Gordon. You are to act as deputy till his arrival, and, of course, will fill up the vacancy of Byron. They talk now openly of a king; foreign they say; I mean Mavrocordato says, that he knows all the Primates of the Morea are for it, and Conduriottis decidedly. This is the worst news I have heard: but I think the feeling of our country is against it, and I hope you will make them speak out, and try the voice of the people. The people are never consulted. I know the army and people are against a king in toto.

I want Blaquiere to meet you at Salona, and go to Argos to meet Conduriottis. If the elections were carried on as at Athens, in the other parts of Greece, there would be no fear of legitimacy.

No. 44.

From Captain Trelawny to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, April 29th, 1824.

Dear Stanhope,

* * * * *, I fear me, is not coming. The greatest man in the world has resigned his mortality in favour of this sublime cause; for had he remained in the quiet life I urged him to renounce in Italy, he had lived. I call on you, in the name of Greece, to do all you can to fill his place. I say you can do the greatest service

to the cause, and you must not leave us; you are public property, and must sacrifice all private duties and ties. I am a poor nameless individual; yet I feel I am of importance, for I have done good, as can every honest and independent man, however employed. I have ties, duties, and inclinations, which call on me from other countries: but I turn a deaf ear to them all, till awakened Greece is free. I am sick at heart that I have lost the friend and companion of many years, for I find that he had written me many letters, but both his letters and my letters never reached their destination: such is the villainous short-sighted system of the policy of these people, for "murder will out." Byron, had I met him, instead of sending Finlay, would have been at Salona now. His name was the means chiefly of raising the loan in England. Thousands of people were flocking here; some had arrived as far as Corfu, and hearing of his death, confessed they came out to devote their fortunes, not to the Greeks or interest in the cause, but to the noble poet; and the pilgrim of eternity having departed, they turned back. Every one says, Gamba and all, that neither Byron, nor any one else, has given the Committee's stores to Mavrocordato. I have ascertained that you are legally and indisputably now in full possession and full power. Hodges and Gill will not stay here. All the English wish to be off.

Do, my dear sir, take some prompt and decisive steps. I will, if you like, execute them. You know the wants of Eastern Greece. Could you not consign some portion of these stores to that part, on condition of the Greek government's approval? Divide the artillery brigade in two; for it is in force two brigades. I speak my sentiments fearlessly to all, so you will not object to my frankness.

Yours, ever sincerely,

TRELAWNY.

No. 45.

From Mavrocordato to Col. Stanhope.

Miasolonghi, le 1er Mai, 1824.

Monsieur le Colonel,

Messieurs Conte Cesare Logethetti et Samuel Barff, ainsi que M. Blaquièrre m'ont de nouveau envoyé des lettres pour vous que je me suis empressé de remettre à M. de Trélawny M. Blaquièrre

m'écrit que dans le cas que vous ne pourriez pas vous rendre près du gouvernement, il croit du moins nécessaire que vous vous rendiez à Zante. Je crois que vous vous déciderez plutôt à vous rendre près du gouvernement, où votre présence pourra être de la plus grande utilité. En tout cas, la décision ne peut être mieux remise qu'à vos sentimens si bien connus pour le bien de la Grèce.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus parfait dévouement,
 Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

*A Monsieur,
 Monsieur l'honorable Col. L. Stanhope, &c. &c.
 Salona.*

TRANSLATION.

Missolonghi, 1st May, 1824.

Colonel,

Count Cæsar Logotheti and M. Samuel Barff, as also Mr. Blaquiere, have again transmitted to me letters for you, which I have hastened to deliver to Mr. Trelawny. Mr. Blaquiere writes to me, that in case you are not able to proceed to the seat of government, he thinks it, at all events, necessary that you should proceed to Zante. I am of opinion that you will decide rather on proceeding to the seat of government, where your presence will be of the greatest service. In any case, the decision cannot be better referred than to your well known sentiments for the good of Greece.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect devotion,
 Your most humble and obedient servant,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

*To the Hon. Col. L. Stanhope, &c. &c.
 at Salona.*

No. 46.

From the Deputy-Adjutant-General to Col. Stanhope.

Horse-Guards, 19th March, 1824.

Sir,

I HAVE the Commander-in-Chief's commands to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to cancel the leave of absence

granted to you on the 30th of September last; and I am therefore to express His Royal Highness's desire that you do *forthwith* repair to Corfu and report yourself to Lieut.-General Sir F. Adam, from whom you will receive His Majesty's further commands as to your return to England. I am further commanded by His Royal Highness, to acquaint you that any neglect or delay on your part in obeying this order, or such as you may receive from Sir F. Adam, will be visited with His Majesty's highest displeasure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. MACDONALD,

Deputy-Adjutant-General.

To the Hon. Leicester Stanhope.

No. 47.

From Macrocordato to Colonel Stanhope.

Mon cher Monsieur le Colonel,

J'AI tardé à répondre à votre dernière lettre de Salona, parceque je ne savais pas si ma réponse devait être adressée à Argos ou à Zante.

Vous aurez déjà appris tout ce que nous souffrons de la présence des Souliotes dans ces villes, qu'ils sont décidés de ne pas quitter avant d'avoir reçu les arrières de leur solde. J'ai fait et je ne manquerai pas de faire mon possible pour empêcher des désordres qui amèneraient la ruine totale de cette partie essentielle de la Grèce, mais mes efforts finiront par être impuissants bientôt, si le gouvernement n'arrive pas à tems à mon secours.

Pour ce que vous me dites dans votre lettre relativement au laboratoire, il n'y a point de doute que je ne négligerai jamais mes devoirs, mais vous n'ignorez pas, M. le Colonel, que je n'ai aucune liste des objets qui en font partie; ainsi ma responsabilité est bornée à la protection dûe à cet établissement, dont le directeur doit répondre du reste.

Vous saurez déjà que l'assemblée de Salone s'est dissoute, après avoir fini ses opérations d'un accord commun. Plusieurs des représentans de cette partie se sont déjà acheminés vers le siège du gouvernement, le reste s'y rendra bientôt.

Vous verrez dans le No. 36 des Chroniques Grécques une lettre que j'ai cru devoir adresser à M. Praïdes, pour la faire inserer dans cette

feuille; j'espère que vous approuverez les sentimens qui me l'ont dictée.

Veuillez bien agréer l'assurance de mon estime et de la considération très distinguée, avec la quelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur le Colonel,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

A l'Honorable M. le Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c. Zante.

TRANSLATION.

My dear Colonel,

I HAVE delayed answering your last letter from Salona, because I knew not whether my answer should be addressed to Argos or to Zante.

You will already have learned all that we suffer from the presence of the Suliots in these towns, which they have determined not to quit before they receive the arrears of their pay. I have done, and I shall not fail to do, all that lies in my power to prevent those disorders which would end in the total ruin of this essential part of Greece, but my exertions will soon become powerless, if the government does not come timely to our assistance.

With respect to what you say in your letter relative to the laboratory, I certainly shall never neglect my duties; but you are not ignorant, Colonel, that I have no list of the objects which form a part of it; so that my responsibility is limited to the protection due to that establishment, and the director must answer for the rest.

You will already know that the Assembly of Salona has dissolved itself, after having completed its operations with unanimity; and several of the representatives of this part have already set off for the seat of government, and the rest will soon proceed thither.

You will see in No. 36 of the Greek Chronicle, a letter which I have thought it my duty to address to M. Praides, to be inserted in that journal; and I hope that you will approve of the sentiments which have dictated it.

Receive the assurance of my esteem and of the most distinguished consideration, with which I have the honour to be,

Colonel,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

To the Hon. Col. Stanhope, &c. &c. at Zante.

No. 48.

From Macrocordato to Captain Blaquiere.

Missolonghi, le 10-22 de Mai, 1824.

Mon très cher ami,

Vous trouverez ci-inclus les extraits d'une lettre de Usoff Pacha, interceptée, et d'une autre que le Général Scalza vient de m'adresser. Vous y verrez l'imminence du danger si le plan de l'ennemi n'est pas paralysé, et je ne vois pas d'autre expédient que celui de faire sortir le plutôt possible notre flotte à la rencontre de celle qui vient de l'Egypte : celle-ci pourra être d'autant plus facilement attaquée avec avantage, qu'elle aura à protéger plus de deux cents transports. L'expédition maritime une fois paralysée, il n'y a plus rien à craindre des expéditions du côté de terre, et tout le plan de campagne de l'ennemi est renversé ; mais pour faire sortir notre flotte, il faudra de l'argent : le donnera-t-on ? Qu'on le garde pour une meilleure occasion. Le Général Scalza demande du secours ; comment les lui envoyer ? Puis-je décider les Souliotes ? Ah ! si je l'avais pu, ils ne seraient pas dans ces deux malheureuses villes à exiger ce que nous ne pouvons pas leur procurer, et à menacer d'une destruction totale le peu qui reste de la Grèce Occidentale ; mais que m'importe que ces deux villes, qui ont déjà deux fois servi de boulevard au Péloponnèse, à toute la Grèce même, tombent plutôt sous les coups des Souliotes que sous ceux du Pacha de Scoudra ? C'est tout à fait la même chose.

On demande de tout côté des munitions, et je n'ai pas même mille livres de plomb. Nous vous devons une reconnaissance infinie de la poudre que vous nous avez procurée moyennant votre garantie ; sans cela, nous en aurions également manqué. Je ne sais quelles difficultés à-t-on voulu élever encore aujourd'hui sur l'emploi de l'argent destiné à la réparation des fortifications, et remis par M. le Comte Gamba aux soins d'une commission. Cet argent est, dit-on, du Comité, et d'après un ordre de M. le Colonel Stanhope, ne devrait pas être employé jusqu'à l'arrivée de M. Gordon. Je n'ai pas encore eu le tems de me bien informer ; mais ce serait bien extraordinaire, puisque je crois être sur que cet argent appartient à Milord, et que c'est de lui même qu'il fut destiné à cet effet. Du reste, M. le Colonel ne m'en dit rien dans sa lettre, dont je vous envoie copie, et sur laquelle

vous me permettez sans doute de vous faire quelques observations, que je me réserve de lui faire aussi dans une réponse, qui lui sera adressée à Londres, puisque on m'a assuré, qu'il a du quitter Zante depuis avant hier.

M. le Colonel m'invite à remettre à M. Trelawny trois canons et un obus, le seul existant ici, avec les munitions nécessaires, pour le Général Ulysse. Je prevois bien des difficultés que je rencontrerai de la part du peuple ; qui voyant cette ville menacée par terre et par mer, et connaissant le grand besoin qu'il y a des canons, et surtout, le manque presque total de munitions, ne verra pas sans doute avec indifférence, tous ces objets emportés d'ici, tandis qu'on avait déjà pensé de placer ces mêmes canons, en cas de besoin, à Procopanistos, et sur les batteries des ailes. Je ferai cependant tout ce que je pourrai pour prévenir une tumulte de sa part, mais M. Trelawny a voulu aussi emporter d'abord toute la brigade de l'artillerie, en y engageant les officiers et soldats à mon inscu, ce qui m'ayant obligé à rappeler ces braves à leur devoir, il est venu alors me demander la permission de prendre avec lui une partie de la brigade. Ce serait diviser inutilement un corps, qui, au lieu d'être ainsi affaibli devait être au contraire augmenté, afin de servir au but pour lequel il fut créé.

Je passe au dernier paragraphe, principal objet, à ce que je crois, de la lettre de M. le Colonel. Je n'ai rien à m'appropriier de tout ce qu'il écrit. S'il est attaché à notre constitution, je crois que celui qui se glorifie d'avoir contribué à sa confection doit l'être beaucoup plus que tout autre. Je sais, (et j'ai même tous les documens entre mes mains) que M. Negris avait adressé, il y a plus de 18 mois, des circulaires en faveur d'un gouvernement monarchique, dont l'ex-roi de Westphalie Jerome devait être le chef, et je sais aussi, que je fus le premier à combattre son opinion. Serait-ce M. Negris le *bad man* de M. le Colonel Stanhope ? Je sais positivement aussi, que sous l'ombre de la constitution, plusieurs Capitaines font tout ce que les plus grands despotes du monde ne feraient peut être pas : qu'ils cassent les bras et les jambes, et laissent dans cet état des plus affreuses douleurs mourir des innocens, qu'ils tuent, qu'ils pendent, qu'ils font perir des hommes sans jugement préalable, qu'ils se permettent des vexations de toute sorte, qu'ils se revoltent, qu'ils trahissent même la Patrie. Seraient-ils les *good men* de M. de Colonel ? C'est à ces derniers que je me suis toujours opposé au peril même de ma vie ; mais j'ai toujours respecté et soutenu la constitution, la constitution forte et agissante,

et M. le Colonel ne parait courir qu'après son ombre. Tout ce que je vous dis, cher ami, je n'hésiterai de le dire devant tout le monde.

M. Trelawny croit nécessaire que vous alliez à Hydra, et je crois plus nécessaire d'y envoyer de l'argent pour que la flotte sorte immédiatement. Mon opinion est, que vous devrez ou rester à Zante jusqu'à l'arrivée de M. Gordon, ou passer ici et vous rendre près du gouvernement. Je viens d'apprendre que M. Trelawny est tout en rage contre moi, peut-être à cause de la brigade. Je me moque bien de sa rage ; cette conduite de ces messieurs est vraiment digne de l'amour de la liberté dont ils veulent se glorifier. Y-a-t-il de despotisme plus cruel que celui d'un étranger qui, sans aucun droit, veut commander sans avoir aucun égard aux lois existantes ? Mais, mon Dieu ! le premier venu croit-il donc qu'il peut nous fouler aux pieds, ou nous croit-on capables de nous laisser mener par le nez par le premier intrigant ? Avons nous secoué le joug Ottoman, pour succomber à celui d'un autre ? Ah que non ! On a dit que j'ai vendu la Grèce à l'Angleterre. La Grèce existe, et ceux qui ont été porteurs de mes lettres en Angleterre sauront dire ce qu'elles contenaient, et si j'ai vendu ma patrie. Je crois lui avoir rendu des services ; c'était mon deoir. On dit à présent, que je veux un despote ; non, c'est justement parceque je n'en veux aucun que l'on m'accuse. Je veux que les lois règnent et qu'elles ne soient pas à la discretion d'une centaine de despotes qui les foulent aux pieds. J'ai toujours donné, et je suis encore le premier à donner, l'exemple de l'obéissance ; mais s'il est destiné que la Grèce tombe aux pieds d'un despotisme militaire, d'un Hydra, pas à sept, mais à cent têtes, je ne serai ni l'instrument aveugle, ni le serviteur très humble de ces nouveaux tyrans. Adieu, cher ami, j'espère vous voir bientôt, faites tout ce que vous pouvez pour secourir ma malheureuse patrie dans ces momens critiques ; faites sortir la flotte, et utilisez, s'il est possible, le corps des Souliotes, qui non seulement sont inutiles ici, mais nous menacent encore d'une guerre intestine. Agréez l'assurance de mon dévouement. Vous pourrez faire l'usage que vous croyez à propos de ma lettre.

A. MAVROCORDATO.

(TRANSLATION.)

Missolonghi, 10-22 May, 1824.

My very dear Friend,

You will find enclosed extracts from an intercepted letter of Ussoff Pacha, and from another which General Scalza has just

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addressed to me. You will there see the imminence of the danger if the plan of the enemy is not paralyzed, and I see no other expedient than the fitting out our fleet as speedily as possible to meet that of Egypt, which may be attacked with so much the more advantage, as it will have to protect more than two hundred transports. The naval expedition once paralyzed, there will be no longer any thing to fear from the land-expeditions, and the whole of the enemy's plan for the campaign will be overthrown. But to fit out the fleet money will be wanting; will it be granted? Let it be reserved for a better occasion. General Scalza asks assistance: how is it to be sent to him? Can I determine the Suliots? Ah! could I have done so, they should not now have been in these unfortunate towns, exacting what we cannot procure them, and threatening the little that remains of Western Greece with total destruction. But what matters it to me whether these two towns, which have already twice served as bulwarks to the Peloponnesus, and even to the whole of Greece, fall under the vengeance of the Suliots or of the Pacha of Scoudra? It is all one.

Ammunition is demanded on all sides, and I have not even a thousand pounds of lead. We owe you an infinite deal of gratitude for the powder which you have procured for us by means of your guarantee. Without that, we should have been equally in want of it also. I know not what difficulties it has been wished even now to raise, with respect to the employment of the money destined for the repairs of the fortifications, and placed by Count Gamba in the charge of a commission. This money, they say, belongs to the Committee, and, in pursuance of an order of Col. Stanhope, cannot be made use of until the arrival of Mr. Gordon. I have not yet had time to inform myself well upon the subject; but this would be very extraordinary, as I think certainly that this money belongs to his Lordship, and that it was by himself that it was destined to that purpose. Moreover, the Colonel says nothing to me about it in his letter, of which I send you a copy, and on which you will undoubtedly permit me to make some observations to you, which I reserve to myself to make also to him, in an answer which will be addressed to him in London, as I am assured that he was to quit Zante the day before yesterday.

The Colonel desires me to deliver to Mr. Trelawny three cannons and a howitzer, the only one in the place, together with the necessary ammunition, for General Ulysses. I foresee that I shall meet with many difficulties on the part of the people, who seeing this town

threatened by land and sea, and knowing the great need that there is of cannon, and the almost total want of ammunition, will not undoubtedly see with indifference all these objects carried away from hence, while it was already in agitation to place these cannon at Procopanistos, and on the batteries of the wings. I will, nevertheless, do all in my power to prevent a tumult on their part; but Mr. Trelawny has also wished to carry off, in the first place, the whole brigade of artillery, by engaging the officers and soldiers to it unknown to me; which having obliged me to recall these brave men to their duty: he has since come to ask my permission to take with him a part of the brigade. This would be uselessly to divide a corps which, instead of being thus weakened, ought, on the contrary, to be increased, in order to fulfil the object for which it was created.

I pass on to the last paragraph, the principal object, as I believe, of the letter of the Colonel; I have nothing to appropriate to myself of all that he writes. If he is attached to our constitution, I think that he whose boast it is to have contributed to its formation, ought to be much more so than any other. I know (and I have even all the documents in my hands) that M. Negrin addressed, more than eighteen months ago, circulars in favour of a monarchical government, of which the ex-King of Westphalia, Jerome, was to be the head, and I also know that I was the first to combat his opinion. Should this M. Negrin be the *bad man* of Colonel Stanhope? I know positively, also, that, under the shadow of the constitution, several Captains do that which the greatest despots in the world would not, perhaps, do: that they break legs and arms, and leave in this state of the most dreadful torture innocent men to perish; that they kill, that they hang, that they destroy men without previous trial; that they permit all sorts of oppressions; that they revolt; that they even betray their country. Should these be the Colonel's *good men*? These latter I have always opposed, even at the peril of my life; but I have always respected and maintained the constitution, the constitution in its strength and activity, and the Colonel appears only to be running after its shadow. All that I say to you, my dear friend, I will not hesitate to say before the whole world.

Mr. Trelawny thinks it necessary that you should go to Hydra, and I think it more necessary to send money thither, that the fleet may be immediately fitted out. My opinion is, that you should either remain at Zante until the arrival of Mr. Gordon, or come hither and proceed to the seat of government. I have just learned that Mr.

Trelawny is quite enraged against me, perhaps on account of the brigade. I laugh at his rage. This conduct, on the part of these gentlemen, is well worthy of the love of liberty of which they wish to make their boast. Can there be a more cruel despotism than that of a foreigner, who, without any right whatever, wishes to command, without the least regard to the existing laws? My God! does the first comer think then that he can tread us under his feet, or are we thought capable of being led by the nose by the first intriguer? Have we shaken off the Ottoman yoke, only to fall beneath another? Oh, no! It has been said that I have sold Greece to England. Greece still exists, and those who were the bearers of my letters to England know well what they contained, and whether I have sold my country. I believe that I have been of service to her; it was my duty. It is now said that I wish for a despot; no, it is just because I do not want one that I am accused. I wish that the laws may reign, and that they may not be at the discretion of a hundred despots who trample them under foot. I have always given, and I am still the first to give, an example of obedience; but if Greece is fated to fall at the feet of a military despotism, of a hydra, not with seven, but with a hundred heads, I will neither be the blind instrument, nor the very humble servant of these new tyrants. Adieu, my dear friend; I hope soon to see you; do all that you can to assist my unhappy country in this critical moment; provide for the fitting out of the fleet, and, if possible, make useful the corps of Suliots, who are not only useless here, but who even menace us with an intestine war. Accept the assurance of my devotion. You may make whatever use you may think proper of my letter.

A. MAVROCORDATO.

No. 49.

Copia del Paragrafo di Lettera scritta li 3 Maggio, 1824, S. V. dal Sr. Anagnosti Papastatopulo, da Pirgos, al Sr. Giorgio Zarifopulo, in Zante.

Eccovi le notizie oggi ricevute. La famiglia Giatraco con quella di Petrobei e comunemente tutti li Mistrioti si sono uniti con legami, scritti, e giuramenti, che si sono resi tutti in un' anima. In

Caritena li Sigri. Deligiani, Colocotroni, e Cogliopulo, dopo essere stati per alquanto tempo discordi, sono stati obbligati dalla propria loro provincia, e si sono uniti fermamente, ed indissolubilmente. Così che Mistrà cioè li Giatraco, Sparta, Caritena, Arcadia, Nissi, Androssa, Calamata, Milachica, Cuzsucmani, e diverse altre provincie si sono di nuovo strettamente unite. Questa parziale unione del Peloponeso è il precursore della pace generale, perchè uniti tutti questi, e coll' andata del Generale Nichita in Argos, dove trattò col nobilissimo Sr. Giorgio Conduriottis, li quali scrissero concordemente alli capi che trovansi in Caritena, per andare in Argos e definire la pace, che deve certamente portare la felicità della Grecia. Perciò dunque quelli che trovaransi in Caritena, marciarono il primo di Maggio per Tripolizza, da ove sarà spedito il Generale Cogliopulo in Argos, e poscia andranno li rimanenti per unirsi con gli altri di varie provincie onde trattare la convenzione. Abbiamo ferme speranze che in pochissimi giorni rilucerà nella Grecia la pace generale, essendosi rese note le operazioni d' ambe le parti, da cui si conoscono le conseguenze delle discordie.

(TRANSLATION.)

Extract from a Letter, written on the 3d May, 1824, O.S. by M. Anagnosti Papastatopulo, at Pyrgos, to M. George Zariopulo, at Zante.

THE following is the intelligence received this day. The family of Giatraco, with that of Petrobey, and nearly all the Mistriotti, have united themselves with ties, covenants, and oaths, that they shall live in unanimity. In Caritena, Deligiani, Colocotroni, and Cogliopulo, after having been at discord for some time, have been compelled, by their own province, to unite firmly and indissolubly. Thus Mistrà, that is Giatraco, Sparta, Caritena, Arcadia, Nissi, Androssa, Calamata, Milachica, Cuchucmani, and several other provinces, have coalesced again in the firmest manner. This partial union of the Peloponnesus is the forerunner of a general peace; for these being united, and General Niketas having departed for Argos, where he negotiated with the noble George Conduriottis, who wrote amicably to the chiefs at Caritena, inviting them to repair to Argos and to conclude the peace; all this will necessarily ensure the happiness of Greece. Those who were at Caritena consequently marched, on the 1st of May, for Tripolitza, from whence General Cogliopulo will be

despatched to Argos, and the remainder will proceed to join the other chiefs of the different provinces, in order to negotiate the convention. We entertain firm hopes that, in a few days, a general peace will be established throughout Greece. The acts of both parties being placed in a clear point of view, and all knowing what would be the consequence of discord.

No. 50.

From John Bowring, Esq. to Col. Stanhope.

Greek Committee-room, Crown and Anchor.
7th February, 1824.

Extract from the Minutes.

JOSEPH HUME, Esq. M.P. in the Chair.

Resolved,

THAT Mr. Bowring be authorized to furnish Col. Stanhope with a credit of £100, to be applied to the furthering the establishment of presses and hospitals, referred to in his letter of the 23d December, [vide p. 56,] of which the Committee request him to furnish an account, and that Col. Stanhope be assured that the most detailed relation he can give, on all interesting matters, will be welcome to the Committee.

London, 18th February, 1824.

My dear Stanhope,

THE above is a resolution of the Committee in regard to your letter of the 23d December. They were much delighted with your letters. They think the establishment of posts should be left to the government. They will apply to the Quakers for medicines and blankets. The deputies have arrived, and we have the best auspices for a loan. We expect about £1500 from the country, which we shall employ in accordance with your directions. Two sets of surgical instruments are ordered. We have had letters from Parry, from Malta, and hope he is with you by this time. They were all well, except Hunt, who was too ill to proceed, and is about to return to England.

This was the young man who went as surgeon, and is the son of "Examiner" Hunt.

4th March, 1824.

THE loan is now effected, and I send you the prospectus. The terms were much better than we could expect. It was wonderful to see how many offers were made of money: they amounted to two millions and a half. I send you some newspapers: you will see how they go on in the country by the provincial ones. Liverpool had a meeting of Tories, Whigs, and all parties, and Gladstone made a most favourable speech. They have already collected £450. We shall have about £2000 in hand from the country, which will be applied according to your directions. The loan bears a premium of 3 per cent. on the Stock Exchange.

March 5, 1824.

I HAVE now to inform you, my dear Stanhope, that, in addition to the former £100, the Committee have placed a further sum of £500 at your disposal, for which you may draw on Bowring & Co. I have made application to the Quakers, who will themselves write to you, and certainly comply with your wishes. We have about £1500 in hand, any part of which I shall cheerfully recommend to be placed at your disposal; and if you want funds, do you draw on my house, without reserve, to that extent. The Committee are exceedingly pleased with what you have done. Your letters give high satisfaction to every body, and now with this loan, which, we think, has been effected on very advantageous terms, we do not doubt the salvation of Greece, to which your efforts have so greatly contributed. I send you, per ship, all the newspapers, (a morning and evening,) and the first number of the Westminster Review.

Blaquiere will give you all details with respect to the state of things here; and believe me, most truly and gratefully,

Yours,

JOHN BOWRING.

No. 51.

From the Adjutant-General to Colonel Stanhope.

Horse-Guards, 1st July, 1824.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honour to lay before the Commander-in-Chief your letter of the 20th ultimo, reporting your arrival in this country from the Mediterranean; and am directed to acquaint you, in reply, that His Royal Highness fully approves of the course you have pursued in this case.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

H. TORRENS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. Leicester Stanhope, Half-pay.

No. 52.

Greek Committee-Room, 17th July, 1824.

JOHN SMITH, Esq. M.P. in the Chair.

Colonel Stanhope's Report was read.

Resolved,

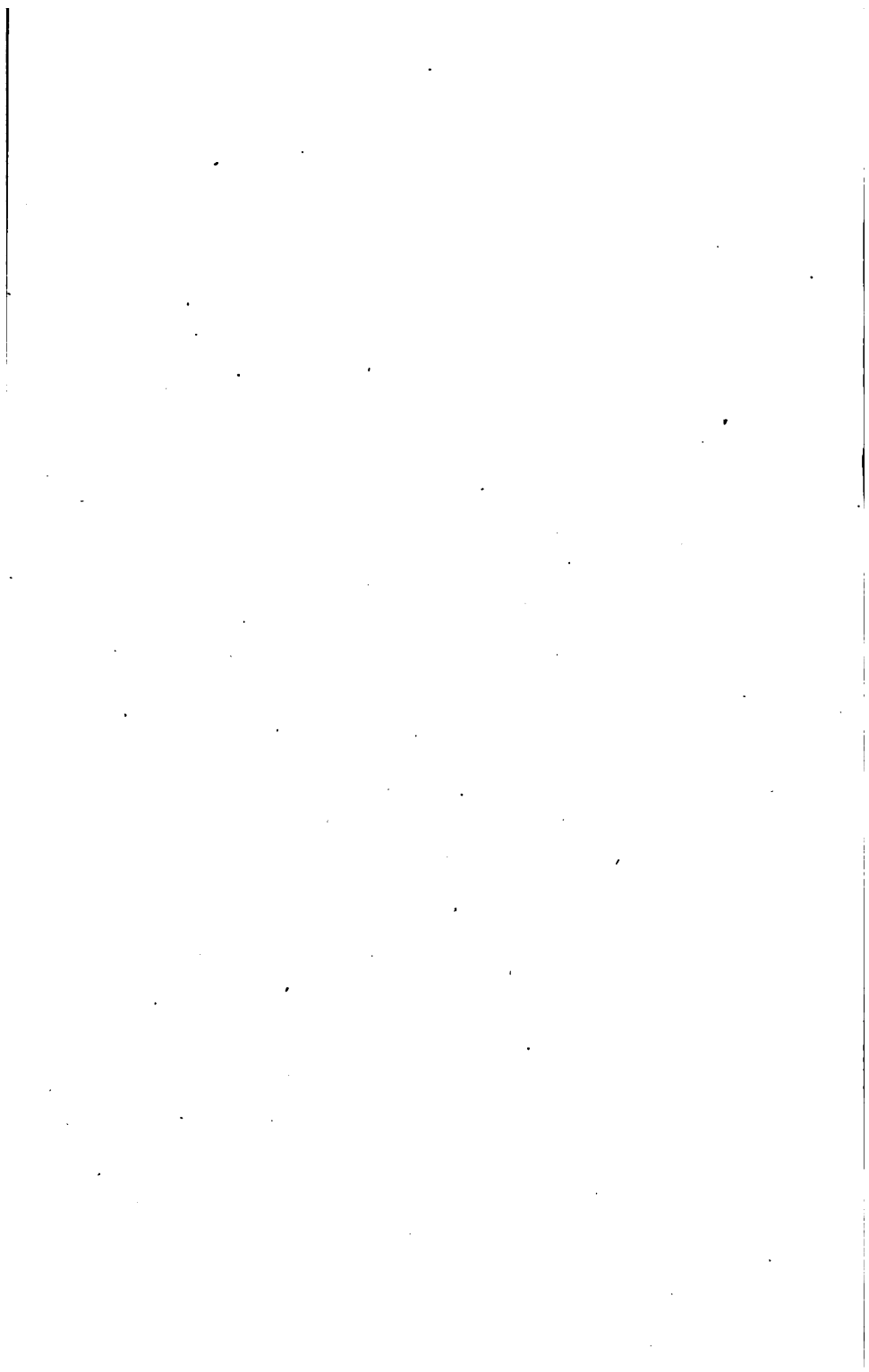
THAT the Honourable Colonel Stanhope is entitled to the most grateful thanks of the Committee, for the unwearied zeal, sound discretion, and extensive benevolence, manifested by him, while acting as their agent in Greece; and that the Committee anticipates great benefits to Greece from the exertions and suggestions which distinguished his visit to that country, and desires particularly to record and to communicate its high approbation of his efforts to promote harmony and a good understanding among the different leaders in Greece: a result greatly advanced by his conciliatory spirit and superiority to party-considerations.

JOHN BOWRING, *Hon. Sec.*

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

ON

GREECE.



TO THE READER.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this work, short as the time appears to have been, great and important changes have taken place in the condition of the struggling people, in furtherance of whose noble cause it was originally undertaken; but of the real nature of these changes, notwithstanding the anxious curiosity evinced by Englishmen of all ranks with regard to the destinies of Greece, the British Public remain, for the most part, in complete ignorance. One campaign has been brought to a close, and another, which threatens to assume a still more disastrous character, has been opened, under circumstances of the most dispiriting and embarrassing nature; but of their results, as well as of the origin and consequences of those civil dissensions with which Greece unhappily teems, little is known, except through the exaggerating medium of party-representations, which are too often calculated, not to say

intended, to mislead the judgement, and conduct to the most erroneous conclusions.

Under these circumstances, the Editor has thought that, by selecting from a great variety of papers placed in his hands by Colonel Stanhope, the following documents, embracing letters from men of all parties, and from men of none, he would be performing an acceptable service to the public ; inasmuch as such a collection of miscellaneous information relative to Greece, derived from so many quarters, can hardly fail to place in a clearer light many characters and transactions which have hitherto been very imperfectly understood. In making this selection, he has been actuated by a sincere desire to give the preference, as much as possible, to such documents as exhibit facts rather than opinions ; although he has thought fit entirely to neglect the latter, when proceeding from men whose opinions exercise an influence in the affairs of Greece, and are entitled to be received with deference, though not with implicit confidence. In the same spirit, he has also thought it more advisable to leave the reader to form his own unbiassed judgement of the important matters to which they relate. He has, therefore, relinquished his original intention of offering a connected summary of the events which have occurred in Greece subsequent to the period with which the former part of the volume closes, illustrated by ex;

tracts of correspondence, and by observations on the different heads as they came under review ; and has contented himself with supplying such materials as, combined with the accounts published from time to time in the newspapers, may enable the reader to form at least a tolerable idea of the present condition, as well as of the future hopes of that cherished country, to the consolidation of whose rising liberties the energies of Colonel Stanhope's active mind have been so perseveringly devoted.

RICHARD RYAN.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

No. I.

Extracts of Letters to Colonel Stanhope from a Gentleman lately returned from Greece, on the State of the Country, and on the Means of rendering its Resources available for the Maintenance of the State, and the Repayment of the Loan.

CHARACTER OF THE EXECUTIVE BODY.

THE three principal individuals composing this body, at the period of my visit to Greece, were Signor Conduriottis, President, Signor Botassis of Spezzia, and Dr. Colletti. Mr. Rodios, the Secretary, a shrewd, intelligent man, conducted the business with great ability; he, however, complained much of his arduous duties, and seemed anxious to obtain a military employment.

The authority of the Executive Government, supported by a body of 1200 Bulgarian troops, under the command of Captain Cristo, was paramount in the immediate vicinity of Napoli di Romania, as also at Vos-

titza on the Gulf of Lepanto, and at Napoli di Malvasia, but in the other parts of the Peloponnesus the people seemed excessively averse to Conduriottis, and the ruling island faction. In the higher and mountainous districts of Magoula and Leondari, situated in what is called the "Colocotroni District," they did not conceal their dislike to the Executive, and even set its authority at defiance, by the attack made upon Tripolitza, and subsequently on Napoli di Romania, both of which, however, terminated unsuccessfully. I believe that Colocotroni was kidnapped, in a manner, by the Executive, and not given up by his followers, by whom he was much beloved. I do not apprehend that he will suffer death for his alleged treason, inasmuch as the Executive will not dare to inflict it.

The present Executive, from their now possessing the fortresses of Napoli di Romania, Athens, and Napoli di Malvasia, all of which are nearly impregnable to the Ottomans, is the strongest which has hitherto been in administration; and, perhaps, considering the divided interests, and the proud independence of the more elevated districts of Greece, which obey the government just as it suits their advantage, a stronger Executive, under existing circumstances, could not be formed.

The worst trait in the character of all the Greek executive governments hitherto formed, is their want of energy in improving the state of the country, being more absorbed in the furthering of their individual interests, than in promoting those of the public. As a proof of this I have only to affirm, that the quantity of vessels employed last year, and of those prepared as fireships, was far too great for the services performed or

attempted. The present members of the Executive were more anxious to give employment to a naval force than to the land-army, and there were complaints of considerable partiality, the ships of the Hydriots being generally hired in preference to the others. Both Captain Hamilton, of the Cambrian frigate, and Captain Sotheby, of the Seringapatam, informed me that 30 ships would have been quite sufficient to occupy the Turkish fleet, as the Greeks never attempted to come to close quarters, but simply hovered around the enemy, endeavouring to find an opportunity of using their fire-ships.

Instead of the brilliant victories, so pompously announced in the newspapers, and which, I believe, were fabricated at Trieste and Leghorn, I know, from having questioned many of the Greek captains engaged, that their successes were limited to the taking and destroying of about eight small vessels, whereas the sum expended was sufficient for the purchase of steam-vessels, and of a considerable and effective naval force.

The private character of Conduriottis is good; he is a straight-forward, upright person. Poor Botassis, of Spezia, was cut off by the epidemic disease, by which I was assailed. Colletti is a physician, and more a man of business than his colleagues; he is reputed to be a shrewd, cunning man. Another very bad trait in the Executive is the promising what they do not mean to perform. As, for instance, they engaged to send some cargoes of produce to England, whilst at the very time they did so, they must have been quite conscious that such a thing was impossible, unless they purchased them out of the loan.

They were taught a severe lesson by Capt. Pechell, of the Sybille frigate, whilst I was at Napoli di Romania.

Capt. P. visited us on board the Florida, and told me that he had orders to proceed to extremities against the Greeks, if they did not comply with his demands relative to certain depredations committed by the Greek fleet at Ithaca. He told me that he had allowed them six hours to consider the matter, and that in case the money was not then paid, he would resort to compulsory measures. The Greek government had promised to settle every thing, but never dreamed that Pechell would actually proceed; however, upon the expiration of the time, about 10 o'clock at night, he sent his boats into the harbour, close under the batteries, and cut out six Greek vessels, whereof three were ships of war, without the slightest resistance, and the Greek government were glad to ransom them next day.

LÉGISLATIVE BODY.

OF this body I know but little. A great number of individuals, influenced by their attachment to the parties of different chiefs out of favour with government, had seceded from it, or had not even taken their seats at Napoli; possibly not considering themselves in security there. A regular *procès-verbal*, however, appears to be taken of their deliberations, and the different laws enacted seem registered in a methodical manner. Those members resident at Napoli di Romania acted in strict harmony with the Executive, which was not the case under the last government, and therefore may be esteemed a very great improvement, if fairly brought about.

THE POLICE.

EXCEPTING in the immediate vicinity of Napoli di Romania, no regular police seems to exist. A sort of martial law prevails in the other parts of the Morea, but considering the anarchy which generally attends upon a revolution, and the numerous opportunities which are presented to wicked and evil-disposed persons for the perpetration of crimes, the unfrequency of heinous offences in Greece is really astonishing, and speaks much in favour of its inhabitants. In the mountainous districts feuds exist, which no police can restrain, and occasionally blood is shed.

THE PREFECTS.

I BELIEVE that Ephori have been nominated to govern some of the more central and undisturbed districts and islands of Greece, and when they possessed a firm character, they have been obeyed. If, on the other hand, they showed the slightest hesitation or weakness, they were sure to be derided, and no attention was paid to the decrees issued by such persons, in the name of the government.

THE PRIMATES.

I DO not think that the government interferes much in the nomination of the primates, excepting in the

neighborhood of Napoli di Romania. At Argos, and other villages, I found that they were Smyrniots or Phanariots, in whom, I presume, the government places more dependence than in the Moriots.

In the other villages, the old custom of considering the most aged and wealthy person as Primate, without reference to any particular nomination from the government, continues; and their authority appears to be extremely circumscribed.

STATE OF THE CHURCH.

I DID not observe so many priests in Greece upon my last visit to that country; from the confusion incident to revolution, and the consequent diminution of their revenues, a great number had emigrated to Italy, the Ionian Islands, and even to Turkey. At Smyrna I recognized several of those whom I had previously known in Greece. Very little show of religion, from the paucity of clergymen, is made in Greece; and I think that it is so much the better, as a more ignorant and corrupted priesthood could not exist. They generally had received no education, and from having no salaries, they were compelled to resort to a species of juggling to procure a livelihood, giving encouragement to all manner of foolish superstition. It would be very advantageous if a proper college for the instruction of the priests could be formed, and a primate, or head of the church, nominated in the Morea, instead of acknowledging as its head the Patriarch of Constantinople, who, from his

situation, must be completely at the beck of the deadly enemies of the Greeks.

THE CAPTAINS.

MANY serious evils occurred from their disputes last year. Instead of finding Pyrgos a flourishing and populous town, as on my former visit, I found it reduced almost to ashes, having been set fire to by the Mainots and Colocotroni's party, in the fight against Londos and his party, who were then in favour of the actual government. About 30 persons lost their lives on this occasion. At Tripolitza, too, from the same causes, much mischief has been done, and many buildings destroyed. At Napoli di Romania, young Colocotroni, previous to its surrender, did all possible damage to the town, and ransacked and burned many houses in the most wanton manner.

I do not know what to say about Ulysses: if he has been guilty of defection, though I hope such is not the case, I am scarcely surprised at it, as the present government has, with the most unwearied perseverance, sought his life, and he never dared to appear at the seat of government without a large body of trusty followers. I may speak from prejudice, as I liked the man; but he certainly appeared to be the most shrewd, active, and enterprising of the Captains: more open to conviction, and more ready to adopt any proposed plan of improvements than the others. If he has become a traitor, he will prove a very dangerous one, as I believe no man is better ac-

quainted with the passes of Greece, and with its resources.

Goura, his former lieutenant at Athens, is now high in the favour of the present government. He is a cool and courageous warrior, but from having been brought up under the eye of Ali Pacha, for whom he acted as an assassin on several occasions, excepting he is well paid, I should be always inclined to distrust him.

Pietro Mauromichaeli, I believe, has almost retired into the fastnesses of Maina, disgusted with the government and present order of things. He himself is an indolent, inactive being, more intent upon making money in his speculations from Navarino than on any other object. His influence is great, however, in the district of Maina, and from the glorious death of several members of his family during the struggle, he is entitled to much consideration.

Captain Cristo, who commands the Bulgarian force, is completely subservient to the government, and his men, having no home in Greece, will, as long as they continue to be well paid, prove very efficient troops.

Nikitas, at the period of my visit to Napoli di Romania, was residing there, and apparently on the best terms with the government. I was surprised to observe from the newspapers, that he had been arrested with Colocotroni, and sent into confinement at Hydra. I, however, receive all Greek news with great caution. He has always proved a most disinterested warrior, and possessed great influence at Argos; in fact, a general confidence was placed in him. He is considered, however, weak in intellect.

Londos is said to be at the head of a respectable force, but I cannot perceive that he undertakes any thing of consequence, and he certainly blockaded Patras last year in a very inefficient manner, as a few days previously to my landing at Pyrgos, the Turks had made a sortie as far as Gastouni, without encountering any resistance, and carried off a quantity of cattle, and many prisoners. He is devoted to the government,* and much looked up to by them.

I had a letter from Prince Mavrocordato whilst I was at Napoli di Romania. He has since come to the seat of government, to procure money, I suppose, or at least, to evade duns. He has been very imprudent in conferring ranks and promising remuneration to individuals, getting money wherever he could and by whatever means.

On the whole, the Captains are as jealous of each other as ever, and will not stir without being paid in advance, excepting, indeed, there is a powerful invasion, when they will stand by each other for their mutual self-preservation.

THE PEOPLE.

I do not think that, upon the whole, the condition of the People is much amended; I mean, of course, the condition of those who inhabit the plains and open country. Property, owing to the different contending factions, which have resorted to arms for the decision of their disputes, has become excessively insecure, and many

* He has since been opposed to the government.

families have been driven from their homes by force. The fine plains of Argos and Tripolitza, instead of being cultivated as they were in former years, lay desolate and abandoned, and Greece was obliged to procure a large quantity of corn last year from Turkey and the Black Sea. The Porte having been informed of this, during the period of my residence at Smyrna, issued a firman, prohibiting the exportation of grain to Greece from Syra, and from every part of her Asiatic dominions. The primary cause of the non-cultivation of the government-property is the uncertainty of the tenure by which it is held; every petty military chief being disposed to exercise his rapacity upon the helpless tenant. As nearly all the lands formerly belonged to the Turks, the means of the government would be very great, could it contrive to exercise an unlimited control over them; but many of these possessions are occupied by main force, and I believe that the revenue derived from them by the government is very inconsiderable.

The great defect has been the instability of every government which has hitherto ruled Greece, which has prevented any survey being made of these lands, or the introduction of any regular system of letting them out. The People generally seem favourable to a democratic form of government, the nobility, with a few exceptions, averse to it; as they would rather see any power domineer in Greece, than that one of their own sect should possess himself, even as dictator, of the reins of government. I fear much, however, that an upright, firm dictator cannot be found in Greece; a man who would establish order, and then retire to a private station—such a one would prove the salvation of the country;

but amidst the dissensions, it is in vain to hope for such a circumstance.

The peasantry are certainly the flower of the Greek population ; those, however, who have not become soldiers are terribly plundered and oppressed by the numerous bands of armed men, who are continually traversing the country without order or discipline ; and this is another severe check on the progress of agriculture.

The mercantile population, at least those who are wealthy, have long since withdrawn themselves into foreign countries. Wherever I have met these, I have found them excessively profuse of words, and full of professions about intended pecuniary aid, but I never could discover that any of them (with a few exceptions) contributed towards the great cause.*

The People still continue to hold the Turks in the greatest abhorrence and contempt.

THE PHANARIOTS.

THE greater part of these adventurers have abandoned ✓ Greece. They are a happy riddance, as they possessed no property, and, generally speaking, had but very ✓ slender means of subsistence, with most exorbitant ideas of their own importance ; they proved rather a burden to the country than a support. They were certainly of

* The merchants of the maritime islands form an exception to this assertion. Those of Ipsara, Hydra, Spezzia, &c. have nobly sacrificed their fortunes to support the Greek navy, ever triumphant.—L. S.

✓ great detriment in one point of view: as they enjoyed, of themselves, neither political consequence nor public confidence, they employed their talents, which are certainly of a superior order to those of the other Greeks, in fomenting the party-disputes, in order to bring themselves into notice. The few who remain, with the exception of Prince Mavrocordato, who is still every thing with the present administration, do not venture far from the seat of government, or from the residences of those powerful chiefs by whom they are protected. Ipsilantis was last summer still residing in privacy at Tripolitza.

THE RESOURCES OF GREECE.

THE Resources of Greece are very great for her extent, but until the fall of Patras, the Castles, Modou and Coron, they cannot be available, excepting for a short period during the winter, when the Turks are not at sea. The exports from Greece would consist chiefly in currants, cotton, tobacco, silk, wool, timber, oak and other barks. Marble and minerals, kid and lamb-skins also abound; and at Athens, Napoli di Romania, and in some of the valleys, a considerable quantity of oil is made. It is much of the same nature as the olive oil produced in the Ionian Islands, being too fine and dear for the use of our woollen manufacturers, and not fine enough for salad oil, without previously undergoing a refining process. This is entirely the fault of the natives, and proceeds from their idleness and indolence, as I have known in the Ionian Islands many cases, in which the finest eating-oil was procured by private gen-

slaves, who selected the olives, and employed persons from Lucca in their culture; this might be carried on, I have no doubt, to the greatest advantage, as lands there sell excessively low, provided estates were previously purchased quietly, as, if the Ionians once knew that any particular object was contemplated, they would demand an immense consideration for their properties. The other Resources of Greece consist in the church and public lands, but, as I before mentioned, they are in the greatest possible confusion, and are scarcely at all available. I shall speak under a distinct head of the Revenues, which are merely nominal.

THE REVENUES.

THE Revenues ought to be farmed out, in order to be of any service to the government. I acknowledge that such a system is in itself excessively bad, but, collected in any other manner, they can be but of little advantage to the nation. The Farmers of Revenue under the government, provided a certain tariff were prepared for their guidance, would do their best to make up, at least, the sums necessary to be paid by them, or by their securities, to the government. Some of them, I grant, might make large fortunes, and others would be ruined by their contracts; but the government, in the mean time, would ascertain to a certain extent their means, and the system, when no longer necessary, might be discontinued.

This, bad as it is, would certainly be preferable to the present plan, as I know, from my own experience, that the collection of duties at the seat of government is con-

ducted in the most irregular manner, and apparently on no fixed principles. The collectors of the other districts appear to be more the nominees of the chiefs in power there, than those of the government, and I question much if any of the money received by them finds its way into the treasury. One most oppressive manner of collecting money is the sending an armed force into certain districts to make an arbitrary exaction, and this is frequently practised in the champaign country, whilst the mountaineers, secure amidst their fastnesses, pay nothing. This is one of the principal causes of the decay of agriculture, for what peasant will rear a crop, of the fruits of which he is to be deprived in so arbitrary a manner?

THE STATE OF COMMERCE.

✓ THE Commerce of Greece, at present, is extremely limited; both from the unsettled state of the country, and from the want of agricultural enterprize, caused, as I had occasion to mention under a former head, by the insecurity of property, and the uncertainty of a man's reaping the harvest which he may sow.

✓ The Commerce of Greece is chiefly in the hands of the Ragusans, the natives of the Gulph of Cattaro, and the other inhabitants of Austrian Illyria. Although extremely lucrative, in consequence of the necessity which the Greeks are under of disposing of their produce speedily, still, as it is a species of *cabotage*, or coasting-trade, our merchants have not thought fit to engage in it, the pursuit occupying too much time. The Austrian subjects, on the contrary, follow it with the most un-

wearied perseverance, picking up 20 tons of goods in one place, and 30 in another, generally by way of barter, and on such terms as pay them a most exorbitant profit. If such goods are shipped from the out-ports, I do not believe that the government receives the exportation-duty; it is only in the vicinity of garrison and accessible towns that this duty is exacted. Many cargoes of vallonias are shipped from Calamata for Ancona and Venice, by Pietro Mauromichaeli, the Bey of Maina, and others, but the Maina district is impervious, and, consequently, almost independent.

A few shipments are also effected at Zèa of the same article, generally for behoof of the British merchants at Leghorn; but this island contributes little or nothing to the government, and is ruled chiefly by its municipality. Cattle are also exported to Zante and Cephalonia; indeed, these islands, unless they were supplied from the Morea and Acarnania, would be reduced to great necessity, and be obliged to draw their supplies from Sicily, or some other point situated at a great distance from them.

THE STATE OF PARTIES.

THIS may be dismissed in few words. The present government is supported by Kranidi, by the inhabitants of the district opposite Hydra, by those of the plains of Argos, by the Athenians, by the inhabitants of the Islands in the Sarronic Gulf, and by those in Ætolia; also, generally speaking, by the people who border on the Gulf of Lepanto, and are placed in the immediate vicinity of the enemy. The people of Tripolitza, and

those of the mountainous districts in the Morea, who feel themselves more secure, with extremely few exceptions, are hostile to the actual government. Spezzia, of course, and the inhabitants of Ipsara, who have been transferred thither, and to Napoli di Monembasia, or Malvasia, as we call it, are favourable to the party at present in power. The soldiers, driven in by the Turks from the frontiers, and from Salona, Megara, Thebes, Talanta, and other points, which are continually liable to attacks from the enemy, and may be termed a kind of "Debateable Land," are, of course, with the government, and having no home, if properly taken care of, ought to form a considerable support to it.

In order to check the power of the chiefs, it would be absolutely necessary to grant them a liberal rate of pay, and to employ them. Great loans have been contracted for, and the mischief is now done; therefore, such measures are necessary. If Navarino has fallen, I doubt much that an opportunity of succour was afforded to it, either from the government's having squandered away money elsewhere, or else, from their unwillingness to grant it. These loans, from their extent, have been productive of great mischief: no man will now march without being paid in advance, and the energies and enthusiasm which characterized the commencement of the Greek revolution, have, I fear, been paralyzed by them. They were granted too soon, and with too much facility; had Greece been free of a foreign enemy, they could have been advantageously employed in civilizing the people, and consolidating the government; now they will be productive of great mischief.

STATE OF THE NAVY.

THE Greek fleet still continues in the same state as it was four years ago. Small vessels, which, in open warfare, neither dare nor can effect any thing against their more ponderous adversaries, are yet employed; and every one is happy to hire out his idle vessels, provided he is paid beforehand for their services. As almost every seaman on board the Greek fleet possesses an interest in the ship in which he sails, it is not to be expected that they will be exposed to much risk, but principally employed in watching the enemy. The fire-ships are already paid for and devoted to destruction: it is for this reason, that they sometimes do considerable mischief to the enemy; not, however, so much by far as the Greeks occasionally represent, the Turks now employing small vessels, and the crews generally saving themselves.

It is a monstrous fact, but true, however, that the Greek fleet has not taken, or at least conducted into port, any Turkish vessel of consequence, with the exception of one corvette, which I saw at Hydra.

The Greek vessels, which are extremely slenderly constructed, from want of active employment, must now be nearly worn out, and I am not aware of any new ships having been built, excepting a few schooners. These evils can only be remedied by the purchase of some large ships, or by encouraging the building of a marine in the Morea, where timber is plentiful, and placing this force at the disposal of the central government. The islands, of course, would be adverse to the

latter scheme, as I before mentioned, a greater number of vessels is employed than is necessary.

STATE OF THE ARMY.

THE Army consists of the same description of soldiers as in 1823: no particular discipline appears to be observed; and the men are more properly the soldiers of their chiefs than those of the government. The number of men at Tripolitza did not exceed 250, and the town seemed guarded in the same heedless manner as in 1823, not one sentinel being at its gates. At Napoli di Romania, a party consisting, as I was told, of 300 young men, although I never saw them muster a third of that number, were training to European tactics under the tuition of a German officer. The Secretary, Rodios, was their commander. They seemed apt enough at their exercise, but were wretchedly armed and equipped. The remainder of the garrison was composed of Bulgarians, and said to amount to 1200 men; a vast number were ill of the epidemic disease which has prevailed for the last three years in Greece, and been more destructive to the Greeks than the Turks. This disease is said to have originated with the Turkish garrison of Napoli di Romania, which held out to the very last extremity, and, having been compelled to eat carrion of the most revolting description, was afflicted by a dreadful illness. The crew of our frigate, the *Cambrian*, Capt. Hamilton, which conveyed the Turkish garrison to Smyrna, suffered much from the contagion. The government, if they possessed the means, ought imme-

diately to take some measures for cleaning out the port of Napoli di Romania; the pestilential effluvia proceeding from which, and the marshes on the road to Argos, would of themselves be enough to generate disease. The conduits also have not been cleaned out since the taking of the place from the Turks, and the stench from them pervades the whole town. In this place, it was said, last summer, that 12,000 individuals were cooped up, consisting principally of refugees, without a home: many individuals died in the streets from inanition, and the floors of every house were strewed with sick and miserable objects—many hundreds slept in the streets. The Society of Friends, by means of their agent in Greece, if their contributions have not already been too liberal, might possibly do something to alleviate the distress of those persons, (who only resort to the seat of government from the frontier at a certain season of the year, when they are driven in by the Turks, and consist generally of old people and children,) by furnishing them with rations, provided the government granted them a healthy habitation. It is true, that this ought to be done by the government.

I fear much, that in addition to the bad effects of the loan generally, the soldiers are not pleased at being deprived of those chiefs under whom they had served since the beginning of the contest, and in whom, from having been habituated to them, they placed much confidence. If it is true that Navarino has fallen, I think that it is owing to those causes. The destruction of Ibrahim Pacha's fleet is but a poor compensation for the loss of so important a fortress, situated so near Candia, and

surrounded by a fine country; contiguous, moreover, to Maina, the inhabitants of which, never having suffered much during the despotism of the Turks, might easily be withdrawn from their allegiance to the Greek government. The possession of Navarino is also of great importance, from its geographical position, as it gives to its possessors the command of the promontory upon the extremity of which Modon and Coron are situated, and secures to them on that side a firm footing in Greece. You know with what difficulty the Greeks took the fortresses now in their possession, and the want of battering-trains would render it nearly impossible for them to retake this, as no doubt the French engineer and artillery-officers, twenty-five of whom were despatched to Egypt last year, by the government of that country, will put it in a proper state of defence.

{ Ibrahim will soon procure more shipping and reinforcements, and as soon as the Turkish fleet arrives, he will probably attempt to overrun the country along the coast from Navarino towards Patras, which, as extensive plains intervene, would probably not be very difficult, if he were supported by a naval force. If he does not adopt this plan, he will probably attack either Napoli di Malvasia, which, from its vicinity to Candia, would be a most valuable acquisition to him, or the Island of Spezzia. I know not how many Albanians he has with him—his father belongs to that country, and maintains a number of them in his pay; therefore, I should expect that he had a considerable force: they are the most dangerous description of troops to the Greeks, in consequence of their hardihood, and of their being

habituated to guerilla and mountain warfare. Should Ibrahim be imprudent enough to attempt the passes, I trust that he will meet with a severe check.

The facility with which the Turks appear to have passed through the fastnesses of the Macrinoros and Agrapha down to Missolonghi, reflects, I think, great discredit upon the Greek army, or, at least, betrays a want of union and energy in their councils. No time, it is to be hoped, will be lost in provisioning this important fortress.

The Greeks seem to despise their enemies too much, and certainly do not adopt proper measures of precaution in forming depôts, and providing their fortresses with warlike stores. Had Ulysses not been driven into rebellion, that indefatigable chief probably would have occupied the Passes of Agrapha, which he has before defended with success against the Mussulmen, and prevented their descent into Etolia. The Greek soldiers followed with enthusiasm Colocotroni, Nikitas, and others: had it been possible to employ those chiefs, perhaps the disaster of Navarino would not have occurred. Conduriotti, who is a merchant and ship-owner, cannot be expected to possess much knowledge of military matters. He is, besides, an old man, very ignorant, but from his wealth and benevolence, however, is much esteemed in Hydra, although not likely to meet with much respect, or to be implicitly obeyed by the undisciplined levies of the Morea. Nothing particular has been heard of the Suliots for some time. Their object is distinct from that of the Greeks. The *amor patriæ*, by which they are so eminently distinguished, would induce them to do or suffer any thing for the recovery of Suli; that

object once obtained, they would, I have no doubt, abandon the cause of the Greeks, who are both hated and despised by them, as I have had frequent opportunities of observing.

POLICY OF THE VICEROY, OR BASHAW OF EGYPT.

THIS powerful satrap, who, by the extirpation of the Beys and Mamalukes, has so prodigiously extended his dominion, has now become an object of secret alarm and jealousy to the Porte; the countries which submit to the sway of Mohammed Ali are, independently of his proper Pachalik of Egypt, a great part of Arabia, and more especially those districts where the dogmas of the Wahabees had been propagated. Under a pretence of zeal for Islamism, he completely subjugated this dangerous sect, and compelled the few proselytes who still retained their tenets, to flee for safety to the desert. For such signal service, he, of course, received the thanks of all true believers, and obtained a great augmentation to his revenues. The provinces, however, so subdued do not love his government, and are only kept in awe from a terror of his arms. At his death, or were the Porte to proclaim a ban against him, then those people would be amongst the foremost to attack him. His conquests in Nubia and Ethiopia are of a different character; there he has destroyed almost all the petty princes, (who, from their constant encroachment and unsettled habits, were at continual variance with each other, and kept those countries in a state of perpetual anarchy and apprehension,) reducing the whole into a quiet state, and

governing them in a manner which is extremely mild and happy, when compared to their former precarious condition. The population of those countries, knowing but little of the Porte, from the distance at which they are placed from her, and considering the Pacha as a great, but beneficent, conqueror, would readily join him in any enterprize; and I believe that the greater number of his troops consist of these southern tribes. His principal force, of course, from their warlike habits, isolation in Egypt, and attachment to his person, are his Albanian soldiers; they are, as far as I have understood, well paid, clothed, and fed.

The Pacha of Egypt has immense resources from his commerce, but as he has possessed himself of the monopoly of almost every article of trade, he has rendered himself personally obnoxious to the merchants. His character is entirely different from that of the famous Ali Pacha, whose avarice and jealousies ruined him; Mahommed Ali is, on the contrary, excessively liberal, both to his soldiers and to such men of science as venture thither from Europe.

I had some conversation once with the admiral of his fleet, Ismael Gibraltar, a very shrewd and intelligent man, who has been in England, has travelled much, and is totally free from Turkish prejudices. He is much in his master's confidence, and expressed his regret at the Greek revolution; he said, that the Pacha had been obliged to send a fleet at the Porte's request, but that he did not intend to act, if he could avoid it. Whether the depredations committed by the Greeks at the commencement of the revolution, or the facility with which he possessed himself of Cyprus, operating as a stimulus

to attempt further conquest, induced him to employ a larger force, and assume the offensive, I know not. Had the Greeks extended their conquests, and become an independent nation, they would naturally, from their commercial habits, have formed an alliance with Mohammed Ali, and they would have been exceedingly useful to him, as the Porte would, undoubtedly, have directed her attention to Egypt, and endeavoured to destroy the Viceroy. It could never be the interest of that satrap, that the Porte herself should re-conquer Greece, as that event would only render her more capable of exterminating him. I should therefore suspect, that, despairing in the success of the efforts of the Greeks, he has offered his own troops for this purpose, and procured the appointment of Pacha of the Morea for his son Ibrahim ; keeping for himself the important islands of Candia and Cyprus, which, as they could not free themselves, will be much benefited by the change, as nothing was more frightful than the tyranny which they formerly endured ; and as, in case of any reverse, they will afford him the means of a secure retreat. I am extremely grieved to see the footing which Ibrahim has obtained in the Morea. He is a most dangerous enemy, well provided, I fear, with a species of troops but too well calculated to fight in Greece, and, what is worst of all, rich in money, which in the present divided state of the country, can hardly fail to be of extreme injury. He has commenced his career, and will now go on ; but sincerely do I hope that some gifted warrior, who can lead the nation, and not a party, may start up and successfully oppose him.

These are my ideas touching Mohammed Ali ; I do

not know whether they coincide with yours, but I think time will prove them to be in a great measure founded in truth.

THE LOAN.

WITH regard to the manner in which the Loan has been expended, that is, "The general Heads of Expense," &c. I have obtained the following information. Upon the arrival of myself and friend at Napoli di Romania, we found the government clamorous for the further remittances of the Loan, and apparently very much distressed for money.

We remarked to them, that we considered it matter of surprise that so large a sum as £80,000 had been expended in so very short a time. The government-officers replied, that to meet the extraordinary preparations made at Constantinople, and to be able to repel the expected disembarkation of Ibrahim Pasha, they had been compelled to take 35,000 armed men into pay, at the rate of 50 piastres per month each, including subsistence, and one hundred vessels at 1000 dollars per month each, besides being obliged to succour the Ipsariots and other refugees, and expend considerable sums in the preparation of fire-ships, and in the purchase of ammunition.

Supposing this statement to be true, 175,000 dollars, or £37,187 : 10s. sterling per month, taking the dollars at 51d. each, for the support of the military branch of the service, would form the principal item. 100,000 dollars, or £21,250, at the same rate of exchange per

month, for the naval force, would form a second formidable sum. The brélots are generally fitted out at an expense of from 7,000 dollars to 10,000 dollars each, and in some few cases more, where the vessels thus devoted to destruction are large. Besides all these, there would necessarily be heavy contingent expenses. We could not procure from the government any detailed account of their expenditure, but the above were given to us as the principal heads of expense.

The people on the western side of the Morea complained much of not having participated in the distribution of this money, as well as those of the interior; and all united in execrating the Hydriots and Islanders as the pilferers of the Loan.

Neither my friend nor myself ever saw either a sovereign or even a dollar in Greece, excepting what was our own property; and if we changed any of the former, we could not procure dollars or silver coin in exchange, but were obliged to take mahmoudies, paras, and other base Turkish coins, which the very shopkeepers who gave us them, frequently refused to receive from us afterwards as payment.

It is inconceivable what has become of the large sums in gold and silver sent from this country. A part, no doubt, is buried, and probably some of the gold pieces may be used by the women as ornaments to their hair, but this would account for but a small quantity. I suspect that a great deal of specie is mixed up with a vast quantity of alloy, and then formed into mahmoudies, &c. which are issued in the country, and transported in neutral bottoms to Constantinople, Smyrna, &c.; at least, in those countries many spurious coins are circu-

lated, and the Greeks are charged with fabricating them. I am further led to believe, that the money sent from hence undergoes a transmutation in Greece, or somehow produces a profit to the government, from their declining, without any ostensible reason, an admirable plan of Mr. Hume's, for the coinage in England of a new currency, (in decimals,) with an appropriate Greek device stamped thereon, and which would have been of immense advantage to them, in marking their character as a nation. Such stolidity is beyond all comprehension. The immense and, I would say, most extravagant expenses of the land and naval forces before-mentioned, if true, would alone account for the expenditure of the first instalment of the Loan in a few months. I do not doubt the veracity of the statement, in so far as it regards the number of vessels. The Islanders, being predominant, would, of course, employ their own vessels in preference, and convert their old ships into fire-ships.

What, in the name of Heaven, however, did either the land or naval forces, kept up at such an immense expense, achieve last year? Instead of the splendid victories spoken of, it is well known that the Greek fleet destroyed only a few insignificant small vessels; and I am not aware of any thing of consequence effected by the army, as the Turks made no serious inroads. The result of last year's campaign was considerably against the Greeks, as Candia was completely subjected by the Egyptians, and Naxos sacked; Ipsara was also destroyed by the Captain Pasha. I believe that sums were extorted by different armed bands coming down to Napolì di Romania, and bullying the government out of money. I do not think, however, that any very consi-

derable sum of money was disbursed as regular pay to the troops, nor that any very great land force was maintained; if otherwise, I must say that the money was monstrously misspent. The Greek government, in order to prove its uprightness, ought to publish an account in detail of its expenditure, for the satisfaction of the nation. A regular system of audit is much required; but, in its absence, the public could give a rough guess whether the funds were really appropriated according to the statement which ought to be produced.

The Loan, if properly expended, ought to furnish the means of organising a maritime and land force, of provisioning the fortresses, and of consolidating the government by the establishment of an equitable administration. A certain and liberal rate of pay ought to be granted to their military leaders. A great deal might have been effected, had a proper control over the expenditure of the Loan been reserved to the lenders, by the stipulations of the contract itself. I think that, considering the infancy and ignorance of the Greek government, such stipulations would have been perfectly compatible, and might have been exacted as a security to the lenders. I draw a wide line of distinction between the states of South America and Greece. Loans could, with a considerable degree of safety, be granted to the former, whose new constitutions were framed by men who had generally received a liberal education, and supported by military chiefs, many of whom had served in Europe and were well versed in modern tactics. Another powerful argument in their favour is the distance intervening between Old Spain and her ancient colonies, whereby, even had she been in a flourishing state, instead of the

helpless condition she is in at present, she would still have been unable to stem the torrent; or, at least, it would have been very difficult for her so to do, considering the vast indirect assistance afforded to her colonies, during nearly the whole struggle, by this country and the United States of America.

I am still of the same mind, which I expressed to Lord Byron, that British commissioners, in conjunction with Greek ones, ought to have superintended and assisted in the direction of the Loan. This would have effectually impeded peculation, and rendered of no avail the vacillating and deceitful conduct of the Greek deputies in England. Military men well acquainted with the character of the Greeks, the nature of their country, and their resources, could then have suggested plans upon a great scale, with every prospect of success; many would, perhaps, then have taken service with them; but what military man would resort there at present, to be looked upon with suspicion, have fair promises held out to him, but at the same time to be trammelled in all his operations? The Greeks possess but few men who have received a solid, liberal education; that which some of them have received in Europe, has been rather of a flashy; than of a useful character—a smattering of Voltaire, of Rousseau, and of German metaphysics, seems to constitute their chief acquirements; the greatest inattention appears to have been paid to mathematics, and other studies, which could be reduced to practical utility.

Another reason why such stipulations ought to have been insisted upon is, the continual change to which the government is liable, and the difficulty attendant on the

punishment of mal-administration or sedition. You saw how difficult it was to get hold of Colocotroni and others, allowing that they had been guilty of the latter, or a greater crime; and if the present government were to be declared guilty of mal-administration, they have only to go off to Hydra, where it would be impossible to arrest them, unless, indeed, the people were honest enough to surrender them to a new government. In South America the case is different; in a large continent such as that, to escape is extremely difficult, and consequently peculation must be more rare. Besides, the Greeks have their enemies close at hand, on the frontiers, and in possession of several fortresses even in that part of Greece which is the freest from the foe.

It would, also, have been well to have stipulated, that part of the Loan should consist in arms, ammunition, &c. Too much money finding its way into Greece will paralyze the enthusiasm which previously existed, and possibly help to make traitors of a number of those who fancy that they have not benefited by it.

The chances for and against the Loan being repaid form a very delicate question, and one upon which I should not like to say much. £800,000 was a very large Loan for Greece to obtain, and I should presume would prove a considerable burden to her, were she free to-morrow; unless, indeed, she proceeded immediately to a survey and sale of the government-lands, which will be a very difficult and jealousy-exciting operation. Those chiefs and soldiers, who have distinguished themselves during the war, will naturally look to their reward in grants of land, and many districts, as I before mentioned, are already occupied "*vi et armis*," in this manner.

This is a business which, if Greece enjoyed peace, ought to be, and must be, conducted with extreme caution, otherwise it certainly would produce a civil war. Could such sales be effected, the proceeds of them would, I should think, cover the amount of the first Loan of £800,000. Greece also possesses large forests of oak-timber, well adapted for the purposes of ship-building; our navy-board, were Greece pacified, would gladly enter into a contract for its purchase. Much is situated on the banks of the Alpheus, and other navigable rivers, and could be rafted down to their embouchures, and there deposited until opportunities offered of shipment. Persons from our dock-yards could be sent out to fix upon the proper quality of the timber, otherwise wood of very inferior description would be sent home. Full and unlimited permission must also be obtained from the government for the felling of the timber, and perhaps even a military force would be requisite for the protection of the workmen. All this could only be accomplished in the event of the recognition of Greece, an event which seems still very distant, and of which there is no chance, until the fortresses, still in the possession of the Turks, are reduced. If a trading-company were established to Greece, and it were to enter into a compact with the Greek government, for the payment in England, to the loan-contractors, of the sums for which timber and other produce were sold to the Company, perhaps a part of the Loan might be repaid in this way; the result, however, would be uncertain, and attended with heavy expenses in the freightage of vessels, &c.

Hitherto I have only referred to the first Loan of

£800,000, to procure the payment of which, or part of it, the greatest energy and address must be used.

With regard to the second, it is a most preposterous sum for Greece; and I have no hesitation in affirming my belief, that if the whole of the Peloponnesus, considering the very high interest of money in the Levant, were sold piece-meal to-morrow, it would not produce £2,800,000. The Turkish revenues *from the whole of Greece*, according to Pouqueville, if I recollect right, netted 17,000,000 piastres; this sum, taking the piastre at $5\frac{1}{2}$ to the dollar, and the dollar now passes for ten, would produce little better than £600,000 sterling, and nearly all the lands were then arbitrarily occupied by the Turks, and the karatch, or capitation-tax, was in full force. It is also to be observed, that a great proportion of this revenue must have been derived from the port-dues of Patras, and that agriculture has since very much declined, and an immense number of the currant-plants have been destroyed, which is a very great loss, as a long time is required before the plants produce.

With all these things staring us in the face, and considering the small extent of Greece, (allowing her independence to be recognized,) which would probably consist only of the ancient Etolia, Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, Athens, and the Morea, with a few of the islands; for, with respect to Thessaly, and the lower part of Macedonia, without cavalry it would be impossible for the Greeks to undertake any expedition against them; under all these circumstances I again say, that I think it impossible that Greece could pay so large a sum as £2,800,000, unless some extraordinary or unlooked-for change took

place in her state, or some fortunate political combination produced this effect.* The introduction of such large sums into Greece, excepting they were subject to the most severe control, and no money issued unless for work really done, and according to the injury inflicted upon the enemy, will, as I before remarked, chill enthusiasm and enervate the people, who, once accustomed to constant pay, will refuse, upon emergency, to act against the enemy without receiving their stipend in advance, as was the case last year with the ships. I should certainly conceive, that the first Loan, which was within the bounds of reason, ought to have the preference in re-payment. I may have spoken, perhaps, rather warmly upon this subject; I have, however, stated what I feel convinced will be the case.

As for the means of securing its discharge, I know of none excepting energy and perseverance, in making the Greeks fulfil the stipulations of the contract for the first Loan, by which they pledged all the government-lands, revenues, forests, mines, &c. for its re-payment; no trifling must be permitted, but the contractors must be firm and temperate at the same time.

* I am of a contrary opinion. I think that the Greeks, under a regular government, either arbitrary or free, may repay the debt they have contracted. They never can, however, discharge it, unless the army and naval chiefs, and the primates act in concert.
—L. S.

No. II.

Extracts of Letters from a Gentleman of Corfu to Colonel Stanhope, on the Government of the Ionian Islands, more particularly as regards its Influence on the Cause of Greece.

THE Executive and Representative Bodies of these Islands are composed as follows :—

The Executive consists of the Senate and Lord High Commissioner. The Senate consists of the President and five Senators, and the President has a casting or double vote. Each of the larger islands, viz. Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, and Santa Maura, appoints one senator, and the three smaller, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxò, appoint one in rotation every parliament. Seven of the Members of the Legislative Body are denominated the Primary Council, and are originally named by the Lord High Commissioner. Out of this number the Senators are generally chosen, but such election being subject to the revision of the Lord High Commissioner, who has the right of approval or rejection, the Senator to be so returned is always well-known beforehand. If, however, the Lord High Commissioner should not approve of the first nomination, he signifies his dissent; and should he also reject the second, he proceeds without further ceremony to appoint one himself.

No act of the Senate is valid without the approbation of the Lord High Commissioner—the *procès-verbaux* of their meetings must be read to him by the Secretary for the General Department, and every act must have his counter-signature, before it is carried into execution.

1028 The Legislative Assembly consists of forty members, including the Primary Council, chosen from every island. Very few laws have originated with this assembly, but almost all have arisen from temporary enactments of the Senate, during the recess of the legislators, and carried without opposition in this Assembly. The principal occupation of the Assembly seemed to be the getting up fulsome addresses and speeches to the Lord High Commissioner, which, as they are a well-paid body, and such members as most distinguished themselves in this way were generally made Regents, or got something for their friends, is not to be wondered at.

Some of these productions were transmitted to England, and I believe even found their way into the House of Commons, as indicative of the high esteem in which the Lord High Commissioner was held.

The mode of election of the Legislative Body is as follows:—

The names of two persons are transmitted to the Regent of the Island where the vacancy has occurred, with orders to convoke the Syndito, or Elective Body, three times, in order to elect one of those persons. For such a mockery of the elective franchise, the Syndito, of course, scarcely ever meets, and the Regent having apprized the Senate of the circumstance, that body elects the representative, and their choice is confirmed by his Excellency the Lord High Commissioner.

Both the Executive and Legislative are completely under the control of the Lord High Commissioner, who generally dictates to them what they are to do, in person or in writing, using, of course, very polite language, but there is only one instance, which occurred soon after

the promulgation of the Constitution, when one of the Members of the Legislative Assembly ventured to express a different opinion, for which he suffered a severe rebuke from the Lord High Commissioner himself.

The business of the Legislative Assembly was formerly conducted by Sir Frederick Hankey, the Secretary to the Primary Council, and Secretary to the Lord High Commissioner. I will relate to you an anecdote on this subject. A distinguished military friend of mine was visited by a Legislator, and asked him, in the course of conversation, if there was much discussion on the different matters brought before the Assembly; his reply was quite comic, "Iddio ce ne guardi! tutto è già ben fatto e preparato dal Colonnello Hankey, e noi vi diciamo sì."* In fact, the Lord High Commissioner is completely despotic, and the Constitution is a mere farce. The addresses from the different islands, which were sent in 1821-2 to England, were called the spontaneous effusions of Ionian feeling towards the Lord High Commissioner, whilst the signatures were procured by the inspectors of executive police, or their agents, and the people never thought of such a thing until they were told to do so.

The system is now, however, improved in the Islands, and great merit is due to Mr. Hume for his exertions in bringing about the better state of things. Could he have carried his point for a commission to be sent out, and had due opportunities been afforded to them of investigating every thing, many abuses would have been found

* "God forbid! Every thing is ready cut and dried by Colonel Hankey, and we have nothing to do but to say, Aye!"

to exist, and would probably have been in a great measure remedied.

✓ The Ionian government, in the beginning, was excessively adverse to the Greek revolution, to which no one was a more deadly enemy than Sir Thomas Maitland. He persevered from the beginning in representing to his Majesty's Government, that Russia was the supporter and instigator of that revolution. That many native Greeks, employed under the Russian government, might have encouraged and abetted the promoters of it in Greece, I can well believe. That those who held superior offices, such as Capo d'Istria,* and others, conduced to its breaking out at the moment it did, I do not believe, as I have seen a letter from the Count, condemning the precipitancy of the measure, and stating that his government could afford it no countenance or support. The Capo d'Istria family, resident at Corfu, may be considered to have been almost always under the surveillance of the police, and I have frequently seen intercepted letters, addressed to the Count Viaro Capo d'Istria, of Corfu, the eldest brother of the minister, from Colocotroni, and other chiefs; but they were more appeals to his feelings, and entreaties to exert his influence with his brother to procure assistance, than indicating any direct plan or promise of support.

This plan of intercepting letters at the time that — — — — — was *pre tempore* resident at Zante, and which letters were frequently ac-

* A nobler-minded man, or one more devoted to the interests of his country, than Capo d'Istria does not exist.—L. S.

accompanied by presents of sheep,* &c. which remained unaccounted for, went so far, that the Greeks from the Morea refused to deliver them, excepting in the presence of the persons to whom they were addressed.

Count Giovanni Capo d'Istria, the Archbishop Ignatius, and other distinguished Greeks, no doubt, took a lively interest in the struggle which their countrymen had undertaken, when it once burst out. The latter sent them assistance; and the former, in consequence of the suspicion of the Russian government, and the exertions of your ministers, coupled with the insinuations contained in the despatches of Sir T. Maitland, was deprived of his place. I have no doubt that the Czarine, or true Russian government, was adverse to the revolution, and would not have wished it to expand, until the Muscovite frontier had been advanced nearer to Constantinople, according to the slow, but sure, policy, which she has pursued for upwards of a century. Scarcely one peace, during that period, having been concluded by her with the Porte, which was unaccompanied by a cession of territory on the part of the latter.

Russia, in thus possessing herself, province by province, of the finest part of Turkey, did not awaken the jealousy of the other powers; but should the Greeks once form an independent state, with an extensive territory, her schemes would be disappointed; and, in fact, the very circumstance of so serious a struggle between

* The villain that would break open the letters of another can have no sense of honour, and would steal a sheep if he did not dread the halter.—L. S.

the Greeks and their oppressors at once drew the attention of the other European powers to the eastern boundary ; and, from the proximity of Russia, roused their apprehensions, and forced her to remain neutral, notwithstanding the repeated insults and fair grounds of war, afforded by the Porte, in her blind fury.

✓ Sir Thomas Maitland, in order to make his government appear of consequence at home, was constantly, in his despatches, speaking of plots against the British, fomented by the Russians ; these existed only in his own brain, as there exists not a more sober, quiet set of people, or more easily to be governed, than the Ionians. It is true, that an insurrection of rather a serious character broke out in Santa Maura, but it was wholly directed against the local native authorities, and some obnoxious individuals. Sir Frederick Stovin was, of course, obliged to call out the troops for their protection, and had he understood the language, and soothed the natives, it is probable the matter would have rested there, and tranquillity would have been speedily restored. Disturbances, however, of a serious character broke out again, and the military being compelled to act, some effusion of blood took place. A military commission, of which, I believe, General Sir Frederick Adam was President, condemned seven individuals to death, amongst whom some were priests, who were hanged with their long beards, without being previously degraded from the priesthood, and thereby great offence was taken, as the Ionians conceived it to be a wanton exercise of power, the hanging in chains of their ministers of worship in such an unprecedented way.

The primary cause of the tumult was the making a

canal, for the purpose of allowing vessels, upon the payment of a toll, to pass between Santa Maura and Acarnania, instead of being obliged to pass outside of the island, on account of the shallowness of water in the old passage. The expense was much greater than had been contemplated. In the first instance, two arbitrary sums were laid upon the island; these, which were certainly small, as I believe one was 4,000 dollars, and the other 3,000 dollars, were paid. These sums being insufficient, a capitation-tax on oxen and minute animals, extending, I believe, even to poultry, and an additional one on wine, was levied by the assent of the executive government, for the purpose of cutting through this passage. Independently of the aggravating circumstances attendant upon the collection of such taxes, that upon wine was peculiarly hard, as the different duties almost equalled the price which it bore in the territory of Ali Pacha, whither it was chiefly carried. The people also grumbled much at the rate of the assessments for the first-mentioned sums, as fixed by the local authorities, who taxed very highly those obnoxious to them, and laid their own assessments at a very low rate. The fact is, that the whole amount of this public work ought to have been paid out of the general treasury. As well might His Majesty's Government have caused the population of Plymouth to pay the expense of the Breakwater, as for the Ionian government to assess and burden the inhabitants of Santa Maura exclusively for this work. The government foolishly declared, in a public proclamation, that these disturbances were effected by certain factious individuals, well known to them. I am convinced that this was false, or why did they not proceed

against the guilty? Persons were frequently accused without any evidence to support the charge, and here it would appear that they had some kind of proof.

One great public evil at Corfu was the monopoly of grain on the part of the government. It produces a considerable profit to the government, because the bread is fixed at a high rate. This article, however, is always dearer at Corfu, than in the Neapolitan states, at Trieste, Ancona, and other parts of Italy, and also than in Zante and the other islands which are exempt from this duty. This measure has been detrimental to the export trade of Corfu, as corn being the principal article of importation, most of the vessels arriving with, and disposing of it, took away oil or other produce of the island in return. It had further the effect of driving several individuals, dependent upon this trade, from the island. An apprehension of famine, from the small stock of grain kept in the island, by the individuals concerned in the corn trade, was alleged as the excuse for the tax. Now, if the government really dreaded such a circumstance, they could themselves have kept a sufficient stock, without marring individual speculation. Moreover, the fertile province of Puglia, in the kingdom of Naples, is at hand, from whence supplies could be at any time derived. The truth is, that the government wished to exhibit a large revenue, and this was thought a good expedient, although a most pernicious one, as the charges alone incidental to its administration must render bread much dearer than it ought to be, and grain, last of all articles, should be converted into a monopoly.

Another very improper proceeding, which I trust is now put a stop to, was the levying of extraordinary

taxes by the Senate, without the consent of the Legislative Assembly, by an equivocal sort of interpretation given to an article of the constitution. Sir T. Maitland condemned this principle; but I never could learn that the sums so collected were restored. The tax on *uva passolina*, or currants, imposed in 1818, was a monstrous instance of this kind, and Sir F. Hankey, at that time acting secretary to the Senate, knows by what influence it was enacted.

No one can deny, that the general good done by the British administration in the Islands is very great; and their consequent close relation with this country has conferred wealth and many other benefits on Zante, Cephalonia, and Ithaca. The lower and middling classes there enjoy a great degree of ease and comfort, from the valuable nature of their produce, and its ready sale to British merchants. The towns throughout all the Islands have been embellished by quays and public buildings of great utility, and improvements in the roads have been introduced to an astonishing extent, chiefly through the exertions of General Sir F. Adam, at Corfu, and Col. Napier, the resident at Cephalonia. The administration of justice has also been wonderfully improved, and the peasant, instead of crouching to and paying for the protection of some powerful noble, as in former times, may now boldly pursue his adversary, of whatever degree, in the courts. These are great and signal benefits, and more than compensate for any faults in the political administration.

I reckon much upon Sir Frederick Adam: he is a very acute, intelligent officer, extremely affable, and well acquainted with the Islands, and the habits and dispo-

sitions of the inhabitants. He is quite the reverse of his predecessor, who, although I believe him to have been a warm friend to those whom he liked, was prejudiced, vindictive, sullen, and almost inaccessible.* The policy pursued by the Ionian government, in the Greek revolution, at its commencement, was certainly harsh and severe. Insurrections were dreaded in the Islands, but without any foundation; in consequence of which, the people were deprived of their arms.† A strong ferment certainly existed, and great interest was taken by the islanders in the contest between the Greeks and Turks; but the Ionians had too much "*savoir faire*" about them ever to have dreamt of rebelling against the authority of Great Britain. The Ionian government contented itself at first with a proclamation, withdrawing the protection of the British consuls from such Ionian subjects as took part in the war. Subsequent procla-

* Sir T. Maitland did much good, but he was a traitor to the free constitution he had framed. The wise neutrality lately adopted towards Greece is attributable to Mr. Canning.—L. S.

† The freedom, wealth, safety, and improvement of the Ionian Islands will be best advanced (*if well governed*) by Great Britain. Dependence would often be a blessing, if not accompanied by misrule. Put Sir T. Maitland's constitution fairly in force, give the Islands a freely-elected parliament, a free press, and a militia, you may then withdraw your troops; and the Islands will be more anxious to obtain, than Britain is to afford them protection. In the time of the Russian government, there was only one officer and 19 men stationed at Zante, now there is a regiment there. The interests of Greece require, that the Ionian Islands should remain, not *under*,—for *under* is a base term,—but annexed to the Empire of Britain.—L. S.

mations were published, ordering all Ionian subjects to withdraw themselves from the contest; and, in the case of Count Metaxà, Captain Focca, and others, who had designated themselves "Leaders of the Cephalonians," the properties of those individuals were confiscated upon their not appearing within a certain time to answer for their offences. The *ad interim* Bishop of Cephalonia, A. Tipaldo, was also deprived of his situation, for offering up public prayers in his diocese, for the destruction of the Turks. The constant exportation of ammunition and provisions from Zante to Patras may also be considered as a strong demonstration in favour of the Turks, whilst, on the other hand, an Ionian vessel, consigned to Costantino Jerostati, of Corfu, laden with ammunition, destined for the Greeks, which had sailed from Leghorn antecedently to the proclamation which forbade Ionian vessels to carry stores to the belligerents, was forced to land her cargo at Corfu, although Jerostati offered to transship it in a French or other neutral vessel. The cargo was subsequently re-shipped for Leghorn, and from thence found its way to its original destination:

The late Sir T. Maitland, I apprehend, always treated the Greek revolution as a mere insurrection, and was angry at its success, and the consistency it began to assume, thereby mocking the infallibility of his prophecies, upon which, I believe, he piqued himself not a little. The policy now adopted towards the Greeks in some Islands is more liberal than in others, according to local circumstances; but they certainly cannot now complain (although their enemies the Turks might) of partiality. The Ionian government would, I think, have derived great

and decided advantages from opening Zante as a free port. Upon the breaking out of the revolution, large capitals would have been brought there, and that island would probably have enjoyed the great transit trade, now possessed by the natives of Syra, under the protection of the French.

The present conduct of the Ionian government towards the two contending parties is highly to be praised, and the policy adopted by the British in permitting the right of search by the Greek vessels, which I understand is the case, is certainly very liberal, if we consider that the Greeks are still very far from being free. The recognition by the government of such blockades only as are effective on the part of both Turks and Greeks, was also liberal and impartial.

It is really astonishing, that from the want of proper political agents in Greece, the information of the British government is so defective, regarding the proceedings of that interesting country. How easy would it be to have a political agent* at the seat of government, and to place at his disposal, for the conveyance of accurate intelligence to Malta, one or two of those gun-brigs, or small vessels, which are, generally speaking, not much employed.

The university, which was last year formally established by the Earl of Guildford,† provided education is

* This would be in effect to recognize the independence of Greece, which God grant that Britain may, as soon as their interests render that measure expedient.—L. S.

† Lord Guildford is very unlike other millionaires of England. He is a great public benefactor, and has taken a wise course to—

conducted upon a wide and liberal scale, will, I have no doubt, prove a great public benefit. This nobleman, than whom a more worthy, well-meaning man does not exist, is himself an elegant scholar, and well calculated to superintend and foster the university, the establishment of which has been for years his ruling passion. He was one of those who contemplated with pleasure the progress which was rapidly making in intellectual improvement by the continental Greeks, in consequence of the establishment of the great Sciot Academy, and of other schools; and he hoped that education would, in the end, have accomplished what must now be achieved by the sword. He highly disapproved of the revolution, as being untimely and premature; and, consequently, likely to cause a great and unnecessary effusion of blood. The professors of Lord Guildford's university have mostly been educated at his Lordship's expense in the German, French, and Italian universities; many of them are able men, especially the professors of mathematics and belles-lettres. The system of mutual instruction appears to have been brought to great perfection in the Ionian Islands; and from Greece, proper individuals might easily be selected to study this plan at Corfu, and afterwards impart it to their countrymen, by superintending schools on their return. This, in my opinion, would be infinitely better than sending individuals from England, who are ignorant of the language; they may answer very well as inspectors of schools, but cannot, without great assiduity, and contending with every difficulty, act as

wards promoting the permanent interests of Greece, by establishing an academy contiguous to it in a place of safety.—L. S.

teachers. In the event of Greece being recognized, many of those professors who are natives of Continental Greece would return to their own country, where they could be eminently useful.

By a properly-regulated intercourse, there is no doubt that Greece might derive considerable benefits from the Ionian Islands. Were the government-lands of Greece sold at a future period, there would be an immense emigration thither from the Islands, and their inhabitants would become the chief purchasers, as the peasants generally, although many of them are rich, are tenants, and not proprietors, large tracts of land belonging to different noblemen.

I forgot to mention, as another essential improvement in the Ionian Islands, that but few priests are now ordained, and those men of some education; whereas, formerly, in almost every family there was a priest, and these being almost universally excessively ignorant, and badly paid, encouraged all manner of idle superstition among the people, in order to procure a livelihood.

The Executive Government, in 1819, adopted a very strong resolution relative to church-property, or what they were pleased to designate as such. This measure occasioned so much discontent and clamour, that they were obliged, in the sequel, to abandon a great number of the articles contained therein. Church-property in the Ionian Islands was of various descriptions; viz. the property belonging to the churches in the gift of the government, and the lands attached to monasteries, over which no one could dispute their control. Grants had also been made in ancient times, by the abbots and consistories of convents, of lands, generally waste property,

with a view to bringing it into a state of cultivation. The authority under which these lands had been so conveyed by the convents was not clear; but still, as it appeared that the Venetian, Russian, and French governments in the Islands had respected such grants, it was no doubt impolitic in the British to declare, by a sweeping decree, all such property re-annexed to the church-revenues, without allowing the persons in possession any remuneration for the improvements which they or their ancestors had effected, and thereby reducing many individuals to beggary. Many of the churches were private property, some belonging to a single family, as in the case of the church of San Spiridion, the patron-saint of Corfu, which is the property of the family of the Counts Bulgari. Others belong to different families, or what is called a *confraternità*, one or more of whom are administrators. These also were declared to be under the control and direction of the administrator-general, Colonel Robinson, who, from being a major of marines in the British service, and a colonel in that of His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, was suddenly converted into a kind of "Civil or Military Patriarch," and commenced issuing decrees of his own of a most arbitrary nature. A priest, named Trevisan, for making use of some strong language relative to these proceedings, and some particular epithets against Colonel Robinson, was condemned to five years' seclusion in the Islands of the Strophades.

Some opposition was offered in Zante to the prelate of that island, who had been ordered to preach obedience to these new enactments, particularly in one village, belonging to, or under the influence of a noble, Antonio Martinengo, the boys of which pursued the messenger

of the bishop, who came to announce his master's intended visit, throwing stones after him. Antonio Martinengo upon this was arrested and sent up to Corfu, where he was kept in confinement for several months, and then brought to trial for *high treason*; whereas, his real offence, as I conceive, was at the utmost only exciting a bad feeling against the bishop, and causing a riot; and, as such, the ordinary tribunals of Zante were competent to try the question. Extraordinary regulations were enacted by the Executive government for the trial of this individual, into the disgusting details of which it is needless to enter: suffice it to say, that he was condemned to twelve years' imprisonment in a fortress, and was sent in consequence to that of Santa Maura. An adopted son of Martinengo's went to England, and applied to the government for a revisal of the sentence; and the proceedings were found to be so irregular by the legal authorities there, that a pardon was sent out to Antonio Martinengo; but, I believe, more for form's sake, than from any wish to punish the man, he was ordered to leave the Ionian Islands for three years.

Another case of great hardship was that of Count Flamburiari, a legislator and advocate fiscal of Zante, who, with several others, was sent up from thence, for having framed and procured signatures to a petition to his Majesty, complaining of grievances, and praying for a change in the Constitution given to the Ionian Islands. The conduct of Count Flamburiari, as a public functionary, in getting up this petition, was perhaps blameable. The right of petitioning his Majesty's Government is allowed by an article of the Constitution, but such petition must be sent through the medium of the

Lord High Commissiouer, who, in this case, pronounced it a libel. The petitioners, after remaining about seven months at Corfu in close confinement, for the purpose, it was said, of being tried, were, however, suddenly ordered off to Italy for one year, with a prohibition to approach his Britannic Majesty's dominions. This order was issued by Sir T. Maitland, as exercising the powers of high police.

No. III.

Miscellaneous Letters from various Persons in Greece, and elsewhere, illustrative of the present Condition and future Prospects of its struggling People.

Translation of a Letter from Mavrocordato to his Secretary, G. Praides, inserted in No. 36 of the Greek Chronicle. [Vide Appendix, No. 47.]

Anatolica, May 2-14th, 1824.

My dear Signor Praides,

I AM exceedingly sorry to perceive in No. 35 of the *Greek Chronicle*, which fell under my eyes yesterday, a long and abusive article against M. Theodore Negris. It has never entered my thoughts to limit the freedom of the press, thus opposing the existing laws on the subject; but I am of opinion that the editor has exceeded the limits allowed by those laws, and fallen into the indulgence of personal injuries, by the above-named article.

I do not know whether I may not be mistaken in this opinion, but it will be for the tribunals to decide, since the matter will, no doubt, be brought before them. In the following remark, however, I feel satisfied that I do not deceive myself;—it is, that in publishing similar attacks, the Editor of the Greek Chronicle not only irritates the passions, but causes great injury to the public internally and externally, by the insertion of various articles, which, though they may be sometimes copied from foreign journals, are altogether useless to the Greeks, and imprudent under existing circumstances. They are also contrary to the positive promise made by the Editor, whose prospectus declared, that he would limit his columns to the concerns of Greece, without meddling in those of other countries.

“ The responsibility of the abusive article against M. Negriz falls exclusively on the Editor, since it has appeared without any signature. It is not my intention to make any apology for M. Negriz, as he is capable of doing so himself, and the Editor cannot refuse its insertion. I am, however, very anxious to see such articles as the one alluded to, omitted, since I feel satisfied they will do no good to the cause of our country. In the meantime, I beg you will send a copy of this to the Editor of the Greek Chronicle, to be inserted in his next number.

(Signed)

“ A. MAVROCORDATO.”

From Dr. Meyer to Colonel Stanhope.

Mon cher Colonel,

J'AI reçu votre lettre de Gastouni et de Zante.

2 D

Comme vous m'exhortez dans le premier de continuer de combattre les ennemis de la liberté, jamais je n'en cesserai ; et je préférerais de mourir mais non de laisser à ouvrir les yeux à un peuple, du quel je tiens les plus grandes et les plus hautes espérances. Dans votre lettre je vois que vous donnez beaucoup de foi à Negri ; ni lui, ni Mavrocordato sont des patriotes, et tous les deux, l'un dans le No. 36. et l'autre dans le No. 38 de mon Chronique, ont été blâmés devant la Grèce entière, comme des Phanariotes, et comme des hommes à intrigues.

Je suis fâché que vous retourniez en Angleterre ; votre place aurait été ici en Grèce. Bien, aussi en Angleterre vous pouvez travailler pour le bien de notre patrie ; pour moi, Colonel, prenez avec vous l'assurance d'un patriote sans peur, qui jamais ne cessera de travailler pour le bonheur de la multitude, pour la vraie liberté, et pour la vraie indépendance.

Vous allez en Angleterre, mais je reste en Grèce ; j'espère de vous parler un jour, et je suis sûr que vous me dites alors, ayant vu et observé mes faits, " Meyer, vous avez bien fait."

Adieu, mon cher Colonel, la Providence soit avec vous.

Votre,

DR. MEYER.

Missolonghi, 10 Mai, 1824.

TRANSLATION.

My dear Colonel,

I HAVE received your letter from Gastouni and Zante. As you exhort me in the former to continue to combat the enemies of liberty, I will never cease from so doing ;

and would prefer death to abandoning my duty of opening the eyes of a people, of whom I have the greatest, the highest hopes. By your letter I perceive that you give much credit to Negrís ; neither he nor Mavrocordato are patriots, and both of them, the one in No. 36, and the other in No. 38 of my " Chronicle," have been accused before the whole of Greece, as Fanariotes and intriguers.

I am sorry that you are returning to England ; your place would have been here in Greece. Well, in England, too, you may labour for the good of our country : as for me, Colonel, take with you the assurance of a fearless patriot, who will never cease to labour for the happiness of the many, for true liberty, for real independence.

You proceed to England, but I remain in Greece ; I hope some time or other to see you again, and I am sure that you will then say, having seen and observed my actions, " Meyer, you have done well."

Adieu, my dear Colonel, Providence be with you.

Yours,

DR. MEYER.

Missolonghi, 10th May, 1824.

From Captain Blaquiere to Colonel Stanhope.

Zante, May 24th, 1824.

My dear Colonel,

HAVING read your memorandums with great attention, I beg to assure you that every possible effort

shall be made on my part to carry your suggestions into effect; I hope it is needless to say more to prove how highly I estimate their value. I shall now proceed to offer you a few of my own crude opinions, and trust they may not be altogether useless in the course of your communications with the Committee. The hurry in which these remarks are drawn up, will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for their desultory and unconnected character. I shall, however, make no apology for the undisguised expression of my sentiments, being assured that you will prefer candour to every thing that savours of duplicity.

To begin with the Loan: if you had not already seen the fatal consequences of sending any part of it to Zante, without the special permission of ministers, Mr. Barff's letter of the 22d, and which he was kind enough to show me, will place the matter in its true light, and cannot fail to prove a highly important document for the Committee. With respect to my own opinions on the subject, they have been expressed in several letters to Bowring; and as I feel very anxious on this point, I shall be much obliged by your laying the note I addressed to you on the 16th instant before the Committee. All that has occurred since, more especially the certainty that the enemy is making very formidable preparations by sea and land, has only tended to increase my conviction that the most serious injury may accrue to the Greek cause by the delay that is likely to take place in transferring the money brought out in the Florida; as to its effects in diminishing our popularity and influence in Greece, there can, I think, be no doubt whatever. Nothing, indeed, but timely measures of precaution in England, or the

arrival of Mr. Gordon, whose large fortune and liberal views will enable him to assist the struggling Greeks at once, affords me any hope of averting impending calamities.

Should the Greek loan proceed, of which there is now surely some reason to doubt, Mr. Barff's letter contains all the suggestions required for its future transmission; if, on the other hand, the wished-for precautionary measures have not been taken in London, it will be an immense aggravation of present evils. Should Messrs. Barff and Logotheti persist in conceiving themselves bound, by the late intimation of Sir Frederick Adam, to retain the money in their hands until an order is sent from the contractors to deliver it up, I hold it to be almost impossible to get such an order before the expiration of ten weeks or three months. Here I should observe, that the various obstacles proceeding from other causes are very much increased by the nomination of Logotheti; and pray inform the Deputies of this circumstance. Though a good man in other respects, he is so timid and punctilious, that there is no chance of his ever departing from the letter of the recent intimation, if Mr. Barff were even inclined to do so.

While in London, and when the arrangements were making, I took the liberty of more than once expressing my fears, that infinite difficulties might ensue from the mode unhappily adopted. The event has proved that these fears were not altogether devoid of foundation; even had Lord Byron's life been prolonged, the circumstance of your being so peremptorily ordered home would have suspended the transfer, while it must be known to the deputies in England that several weeks would

unavoidably elapse before any understanding could be established between the two remaining commissioners. You are aware of the difficulties of communication, and I have heard since my arrival here, that there is very little probability of Lazaro Conduriottis being able to quit Hydra ; so that it will be necessary for whatever new commissioner that is named to proceed there. When once united, they must enter into a correspondence with the Government, and we know that a week or ten days have often elapsed before an answer could be procured from Hydra, at Tripolitza, to which place there is every reason to believe the Executive and Legislative Body are about to remove. Upon the whole, I cannot now help expressing my apprehensions that, unless some important modification be made in the mode of delivering the loan, the campaign may close, or, at least, all the anticipated danger arrive, before a farthing is received by the borrowers. It is scarcely necessary to say, that such a circumstance would give rise to several important questions, not less injurious to the lenders than to the Greeks themselves. In my last letter to Bowring, sent *via* Otranto, a few days ago, I ventured to suggest, that a great deal of altercation and time would be saved, by sending one or two persons in the confidence of the contractors and committee with all future remittances, and leaving it to them, in concert with an equal number in Greece, to decide whether matters were in such a state as to justify the money's being handed over to the Executive. As to the propriety of transferring the first instalment, I am humbly of opinion, that it ought to be done the moment those appointed to deliver it are satisfied a government conformable to that provided for by the constitution is

established. That this is the case, even now, there seems to be no doubt. With respect to the dissensions, all the recent accounts concur in stating that they are at an end; that the two refractory chiefs, Colocotroni and Mavromichaelis, have proceeded to the seat of Government to confirm their adhesion, as well as to aid in carrying the projected plan of campaign into effect. Admitting, however, that differences did exist, how is it possible to put an end to them without the friends of Greece afford the Government some means of making itself respected? *

* It will thus be seen, that the point upon which Colonel Stanhope and myself were principally at issue, related to the transfer of the money. I need scarcely say, that I anticipated some dreadful calamity, if not the ruin of the cause, by the delay which unhappily occurred at Zante. The gallant Colonel's sentiments will be best seen by the following extract from a letter he addressed to Mr. Bowring, and published in his work, on the 22d of May, six days after my note of the 16th, and which seems to have been written just as we had conferred together on the subject:—

“Blaquiere has been with me this morning; he is dreadfully alarmed; he has had a moving letter from Mavrocordato. The Turkish fleet is out; the fortresses in Negropont are relieved; the Egyptians and Ottomans are coming on, and the loan is all in Barff's counting-house. My opinion is known to you; the Turkish fleet, when collected, is always master at sea; their fortresses will, therefore, be relieved, their troops will effect their landings, and succeed in their first efforts; but with the winter comes the ebb: then is the time for the Greeks to commence their blockades and sieges, and to march. Judge from experience which is right.”

Would to God that experience had proved that the apprehensions of the Government, my own fears, as well as those of Prince Mavrocordato and so many others, were not destined to be realised!

You have already given your opinion on the state of parties in Greece; permit me to give mine. I have never been able to discover more than two; the people, and the captains and primates. If you ask me what is the best remedy possessed by the people, who have a constitution, my answer is, a good mode of election and the nomination of the most virtuous representatives they can find. I really believe the actual members of the Legislative Body are the very best that can be found in Greece; and it is to their prudence, aided by the co-operation of the people, as they have always been, that I look for its present safety and ultimate triumph.

Although efforts may have been made by the agents of the Holy Alliance, to form a kingly faction, I am convinced nothing deserving the name of such a party exists in Greece. I have many reasons for making this assertion, and I trust I shall be very soon able to prove it by uncontrovertible facts. It is with unfeigned regret, that I have heard you repeat your belief that Prince Mavrocordato is in favour of a foreign king; nay, more, that he has been intriguing in concert with the metropolitan Ignatius, for the purpose of introducing one into the confederation. Owing to various circumstances, which it would now be superfluous to relate, I am confident there

In less than ten days after the above was penned, Ipsara was destroyed, and more than four thousand men, women, and children, were put to the sword!

Prince Mavrocordato's letter of the 30th of August, forwarded to me from Zante, since my arrival in England, and of which a copy will be found in another page, shows what his opinions are on this important, but melancholy subject.—*Note by Captain Blaquiere.*

is no truth whatever in the above report. With respect to the numerous other stories spread in this country and written to England, which represent a man who honours me with his personal friendship, and for whom I entertain the warmest esteem, as the partisan of faction and intrigue, I am bound by every tie of honour and honesty, to regard them as gratuitous and malignant calumnies, until the proofs are brought home to my illustrious friend in a somewhat more tangible shape than the assertion contained in certain letters which I have seen handed about the table of the Greek Committee, and heard of since my arrival in Zante. In the mean time, I do most particularly intreat, that you will cause the Prince's last letter, of which I subjoin a verbatim copy, [vide p. 335,] as well as a literal translation of that which he has just addressed to the Greek Chronicle, [vide p. 400], to be read to as full a Committee as can be formed when you reach London. Those who have heard the charges in question will not deny him the right of making a defence. I want no better explanation for the motives which actuate Mavrocordato, until my arrival in Greece, when it shall be my very first care to call upon the Prince himself for a refutation of all that has gone abroad to blast his character, and lower him in the eyes, not only of Europe, but of that people for whom he has sacrificed his all.

I cannot close this matter without informing you, that although I have no more veneration for the title of Prince than I ought to have, it does not belong to me to strip Mavrocordato of an appendage which, though it can be of no earthly use to him, has been conferred by some of the most liberal and enlightened Englishmen

who have espoused the Greek cause, not to mention the best patriots of Greece. Admitting that this title is one of mere courtesy, has any individual among his own countrymen, much less a foreigner, the smallest right to deprive him of it, or call its legality into question, until the government under which he lives takes the subject into consideration? Mavrocordato is the lineal descendant of the family which has furnished several Hospodars to Walachia and Moldavia, a post that has always been honoured with the title of Prince. I am, therefore, of opinion, that my illustrious friend is, as far as courtesy goes, as much entitled to the appellation as if it had been registered in all the Herald's Colleges of Europe. In making the foregoing observations on a subject of great insignificance, I ought to add my conviction, that Mavrocordato does not attach the smallest importance to his title, and that he has never either signed his name or called himself a Prince: it is a matter of perfect indifference to him whether others call him so or not.*

E. BLAQUIERE.

* In explanation of this, it is necessary to observe that Prince Mavrocordato is much laughed at in Greece for assuming the title of Prince. They say the republic acknowledges no titles; and that he has, besides, no more right to the title than the late Sir Thomas Maitland had to the title of King Tom, or than any extraordinary youth has to usurp the title of Tom Thumb. Maitland, aware of this, in speaking of the Greeks breaking the quarantine at Ithaca, said that the fleet was commanded by a person *calling himself* Prince M. Corea quizzed him with a better grace. He addressed a letter to Mavrocordato, which breathed the purest spirit of patriotism, and attacked Ipsilanti for assuming the title of Prince. I read the letter, praised it, and stole Mavrocordato's consent to have it published. It was, however, long delayed;

From Colonel Stanhope to J. Bowring, Esq.

Florida, 29th May, 1824.

My dear B.

JUST as the Florida got under way for England, I received the accompanying letter of 34 pages from Blaquiere. I told him that I should adopt it as my farewell despatch to you, but to my surprise, on reading it, found that it was an attack on my own conduct. However, I shall endeavour "to die game." Here follows my defence, and you shall pass judgement.

With respect to the Loan, it is idle to be wailing over events that are beyond our reach. The death of Byron, the consequent annihilation of the commission, the loss of precious time, and the arbitrary proclamation of the Anglo-Turkish governor of the Ionian Isles, are ills that must be faced, and their baneful consequences, as far as possible, averted. A new commission has already been, or must be immediately appointed. Mr. Canning, who has too great a soul not to feel for Greece, must be applied to on the subject of the proclamation. Should he decline sending orders to the authorities in the Ionian Isles not to interfere in the Loan, the money must, in

Meyer and I began to croak. Mavrocordato said, surely I may be allowed to suppress parts of my own letter. He accordingly suppressed parts of it, but published the attack on Ipsilanti, to which the editor wrote some prefatory remarks in praise of Corea and Prince M., and in condemnation of *Demetrius Ipsilanti*. Thus M. published a satire on himself, and the editor gave fresh point to it by the addition of a bull.—L. S.

future, be conveyed to Greece through other channels. Logotheti is timid, and ought to be removed from the agency.

Mavrocordato has a stanch friend in Blaquiere. He admits that this virtuous republican has no right to the title of Prince, but thinks that, as it is one of mere courtesy, no Greek or foreigner has a right to call it in question. This is a fine triumph, indeed, of friendship over reason! Blaquiere complains of a letter of Trelawney's, in which he gives an unfavourable character of Mavrocordato, and says, "the sooner such auxiliaries leave, or are turned out of Greece the better." I cannot concur in this opinion. Trelawney is a man of talent, and devoted to the cause; if he has a fault, it is that, like B., he is a warm partizan. One has taken Ulysses for his hero, the other Mavrocordato.

Blaquiere, it seems, "is decidedly of Byron's opinion, that the grand consideration for the Greeks themselves, and their foreign friends, is to drive out the Turks." He, therefore, thinks, that little progress can be made in education, legislation, and government, until this consummation is achieved. How comes it, then, that B. clings so fast to his old friend Mavrocordato and the civilians, and abuses the mountain-warriors, because they have none but martial virtues? Whatever may be Byron's or Blaquiere's opinions, mine are decidedly, that an approximation to good government must precede any effectual exertion towards emancipation from Turkish tyranny. In proof of this, I refer you to the first burst of the Greeks to get rid of despotism, and their paralytic struggling under it ever since.

Blaquiere is satisfied with Mavrocordato's explanation

of his conduct towards the press. He founds this opinion on Mavrocordato's private letter to him, and his public one to his Secretary. In his private letter, he says, "il est dans la nature de Mons. Negris de tout embrouiller, de sacrifier tout à sa vanité, de vouloir détruire tout ce que est fait par un autre, fut il même bien fait. Ce n'est pas que j'ai de l'inimitié contre M. N.; je fus le premier à prendre publiquement sa defense, lorsque je l'ai vu attaqué dans les Chroniques, ainsi qu'il paraîtra dans le numéro prochain; mais je dirai toujours qu'un *chat* est un *chat*." Now this was the *cat* that the editor of the Chronicle turned out of the bag, saying, "this, sir, is your character; and I never can believe that you are sincere in all the fine sentiments you are expressing at the Congress at Salona." In Mavrocordato's public letter he protests he never thought of limiting the freedom of the press. He thinks, however, that the editor of the Chronicle has sinned, and should be prosecuted. Sinned, by publicly and manfully expressing of a statesman (Mons. Negris) what Mavrocordato was whispering and intriguing to render current in Greece and Europe! So much for the *Prince's* chivalry. But it seems that it is dangerous to declaim against the views of M. Negris, because it may excite angry passions. How came it, then, that Mavrocordato sanctioned, and, as I verily believe, wrote some of the most passionate attacks upon Colocotroni, when that captain was in the height of his bad power, in this same Chronicle. The fact is, Mavrocordato was bred up at Constantinople, he exercised power in Wallachia, and afterwards travelled in Switzerland. Can you be surprised, then, that he has imbibed the vices as well as the virtues of the

societies in which he has been educated? Mavrocordato is a clever, feeble, amiable man. He is addicted to Turkish intrigue, and is capable of either framing a free constitution, or of aiding a foreign king to mount the throne of Greece. The revolution of Greece is a sort of romance, and Blaquiere has not done amiss in taking Mavrocordato for his *hero*. A good republic, however, does not stand in need of heroes: it only requires men with good hearts, strong heads, and muscular arms.

Mavrocordato wishes to make it appear that the oligarchs are all of the party opposed to the government. This is not true. "Ces messieurs,"* says he, "croient que les divisions existantes sont l'effet des principes oligarchiques, qui se sont trouvés en opposition avec le parti militaire. Je crois, au contraire, que le chef du parti oligarchique, en union avec celui du parti militaire, ont voulu opprimer le parti national." Here we are misrepresented. We know that as well military chiefs as oligarchs compose a great majority of both parties; and think, that by the clashing of their interests, those of the people may be promoted. Mavrocordato says, "Colonel Stanhope croit que l'introduction du General Ulysse dans le corps executif amenera des avantages immenses." Yes, if done in a spirit of amity, it might unite the military, aristocratical, and popular interests. Greece might then have a government to guide and an army to conquer. "Aye," says Mavrocordato, "but Colocotroni was tried, and did not succeed." True, but Colocotroni and Ulysses are different men; besides, Colocotroni had no press, no legislative body, and no public opinion to

* Meaning L. S. and those who think with him.

keep him to his duties. Circumstances are changed. Treat Ulysses and Colocotroni well, and they will be the firmest support of the constitution. Slander, persecute, and oppress them, and they will turn traitors.

Mavrocordato bewails the unhappy fate of Missolonghi, threatened by the mutinous Suliots, and wanting ammunition, provisions, and defences. This is in part true, but the fault lies with himself. He should have adopted permanent, instead of temporizing, measures with the Suliotes. He should have given a home to their families; and if he could not afford to pay them, he should not have beguiled them with fair promises. Now he has nothing for it, but to conciliate or to fight them. This he may well do, for they have not above 100 Suliots in Missolonghi, and not more than 3 or 400 in Anatolico. As for ammunition and provisions, no town in Greece is so advantageously circumstanced. It has commerce and a rich fishery, and all the resources brought thither by Lord Byron and the committee's agent; and for the fortifications, I told Mavrocordato months back that he should call upon every individual to devote a fortnight's labour to this object, and should himself be the first to take off his coat and show a good example. He smiled—said yes—did nothing, complained piteously, and, as usual, ended in courteous begging. But you may ask, what will all this end in? Why, either in the success of the Suliots, or the Missolonghiots; probably in that of the latter, and in the defeat of the Turks. Mavrocordato talks of being ready to die like a man of honour; I believe him, but hope that he may long live like a virtuous citizen. The lovers of heroes must not, however, conceive, that the safety of Greece depends

on a Mavrocordato or a Ulysses. No, its strength lies in its mountains, its armed peasantry, and its hardy corsairs.

I shall here close my defence; acquit me, and you shall be my hero.

Yours, truly,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

*From Mavrocordato to Colonel Stanhope.**

“ Missolonghi, le 6 Juin, 1824.

“ Monsieur le Colonel,

“ Je dois la reponse à votre lettre du 20 du mois passé datée du Lazaret de Zante. [v. p. 222.]

“ Les munitions et les 4 pieces furent remises à M. le Capitaine Trelawny pour être transportées à Athenes. Le depart de ces objets essentiels dans un moment critique, a un peu aigri le peuple, j'ai eu toutes les peines du monde pour prevenir un tumulte qui aurait pu avoir de suites fâcheuses.

“ Je ne puis que louer vos sentimens pour la constitution : mais puisque je le crois, je n'hesiterai pas de vous le dire franchement M. le Colonel, que trompé par des apparences, vous avez manqué de porter un coup mortel à cette constitution même, en érigeant sur ses débris, le despotisme militaire. Ce n'était pas sans doute votre

* This letter was never received by Colonel Stanhope, by whom it was first seen in Captain Blaquiere's late publication, from which it is here copied.

intention, vous avez cru voir des protecteurs de nos loix dans les personnes de ceux qui n'en desirent que l'ombre ; et cela encore dans le but d'agir plus à leur aise ; vous avez cru contribuer à un rapprochement des partis, et vous avez manqué d'amener le plus grand des malheurs, le massacre des representans de la nation, et la dissolution de ce corps qui a vraiment mérité de la nation par sa fermeté et par son courage. Voilà de nouveau, les factieux obligés de reconnaître ce que peut que la volonté de la nation ; mais devrait on les encourager tacitement en se montrant défavorable au parti du Corps Représentatif ? Cela n'a jamais été votre intention sans doute ; mais les faits n'en sont pas moins là. Ne devrait on pas soutenir le Gouvernement, dans un moment où ses ennemis s'étaient vus obligés de reculer devant l'influence de l'opinion publique ! Il est vrai que les vœux de la nation ont de nouveau remporté une victoire éclatante, et peut être triompheront enfin pour toujours ; mais le sang versé de nouveau n'aurait-on pas dû l'épargner ? Quant à ce que vous dites relativement à la Monarchie, je n'ai rien à vous répondre, puisque je n'y trouve rien qui m'appartient ; tout ce que je puis vous dire, c'est, que l'oppression seule et le règne du despotisme militaire peuvent engager le peuple à un pareil choix ; sans cela, que des traîtres intriguent, ils ne feront rien. Voilà une raison de plus pour appuyer le corps législatif et les representans de la nation ; tous ceux qui s'écartent de ce seul chemin de salut, sont des traîtres, puisqu'ils préparent par une voie indirecte, le chemin au despotisme et à la tyrannie.

Veillez bien agréer l'assurance de la plus haute

estime, et de la considération la plus distinguée avec lesquelles j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur le Colonel,

Votre dévoué Serviteur,

(Signé)

A. MAVROCORDATO.

A l'Honorable Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c. &c.
à Londres.

TRANSLATION.

Missolonghi, June 6th, 1824.

I OWE an answer to your letter of the 18th ultimo, dated from the Lazaretto of Zante. [vide p. 222.]

The ammunition and four field-pieces were consigned to Captain Trelawny to be transferred to Athens. The departure of these essential objects at this critical moment has rather soured the people; I had the greatest difficulty in preventing a tumult which might have had unpleasant consequences.

I cannot but applaud your sentiments in favour of the constitution; but since it is my belief, I will not hesitate to tell you, Colonel, that, deceived by appearances, you have been on the point of giving a mortal blow to that constitution, by erecting on its ruins a military despotism. This was not, doubtless, your intention; you thought you saw protectors of our laws, in the persons of those who only desire the shadow; and this only with a view of acting more at their ease.—You wished to contribute to a junction of parties, and you might have brought about the greatest misfortune—the massacre of the representatives of the people, and the dissolution of that

body, which has really merited well of its country, by its firmness and courage. Here is another instance to prove that the factious are forced to recognise what the national will can effect; but ought any one tacitly to encourage them, by showing himself unfavourable to the party of the representative body? This was, doubtless, never your intention, but the facts are not less conclusive. Was it not necessary to support the government at a moment when its enemies saw themselves obliged to retreat before public opinion?—It is true, that the wishes of the nation have again achieved a glorious victory, and will perhaps triumph for the future; but would it not have been as well to spare spilling of blood anew?

As to what you say relative to the monarchy, I have nothing to answer, as there is nothing in it which belongs to me—all that I can say is, that oppression and the reign of military despotism can alone engage the people to make such a choice; without that, let the traitors intrigue, they will do nothing. This is an additional motive for supporting the legislative body and the representatives of the nation. All those who stray from this sole path of safety are traitors, since they prepare, by an indirect channel, the way to despotism and tyranny.

Accept the assurance of the high esteem and distinguished consideration, with which I have the honour to be;

Colonel,

Your devoted servant,

(Signed)

A. MAVROCORDATO.

From Colonel Stanhope to Maurocordato.

London, May 30, 1835.

My dear Sir,

ON my return from Italy, I read your letter addressed to me in my friend Blaquiere's work on Greece. I rejoice to think that you have had recourse to a free press to animadvert on my conduct, and I beseech you fearlessly to pursue that channel for the proclamation of wholesome truth.

You first accuse me of having "been on the point of giving a mortal blow to the Greek constitution, by erecting on its ruins a military despotism." This is a mere assertion, and if you remain silent when I challenge you to the proof, or are too idle or too proud to substantiate your charge, you tacitly prove yourself a slanderer. The only military despotism, or anarchy, that I saw in Greece, existed at Napoli and at Missolonghi, of which latter place you were governor.

You next assert, that "I wished to contribute to a junction of parties, and might have brought about the greatest misfortune—the massacre of the representatives of the people, and the dissolution of that body." Now, had I brought about a massacre of this body, I pretend not to deny that I should have produced its dissolution, But what grounds have you for assuming this fact? If you have any, you should have produced them; if none, and you think your mere *ipse dixit* is sufficient proof, or that your power is so omnipotent, that you can control reason itself, make falsehood truth, or "turn a syllogism into a tree," you are not merely a prince, but such a despotic one as never before existed.

Wishing you every success in promoting the independence and liberties of Greece,

I remain,

Your most faithful servant,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

To Monsieur A. Mavrocordato, &c. &c. &c.

From M. Negris to Colonel Stanhope.

Monsieur,

JE suis extrêmement peiné de n'avoir point reçu de vos nouvelles depuis votre départ de l'Île de Zante; j'espère toutefois que de vos lettres sont en chemin. Tout éloigné que vous puissiez être de la Grèce, vous en conservez, sans doute, le souvenir, et ses intérêts ne peuvent que vous être chers. Si la Grèce n'a pas encore des attrait moraux pour des gens de haut mérite, la grandeur au moins de son entreprise actuelle, et les effets salutaires pour l'humanité que l'on est fondé d'en attendre excitent l'intérêt des hommes de bien. Toutes ces considérations ne me laissent pas de doute sur votre désir de vous instruire sur l'état des choses en Grèce, que je veux satisfaire par un exposé tout court de nos affaires, depuis votre départ d'ici.

Le parti Oligarchique du Peloponnèse, qui pendant l'hiver passé avait excité les choses en Grèce, au point de faire entreprendre au gouvernement une guerre intestine, aussitôt qu'il a trouvé son intérêt à faire cesser la guerre, obligea le gouvernement de la terminer,

tandis que celui-ci pouvait bientôt après la faire cesser une fois pour toutes. C'est ce qui me fit dire alors, que je ne vois dans ce que communément on appelait fin de la guerre, que *la fin du commencement* d'une guerre intestine, que tout me porte à croire indispensable. La suite en a justifié mon idée, et denouvelles querelles se preparent aujourd'hui ; ce sont les deux corps Oligarchiques du Peloponnèse, qui opposés jusqu'ici l'un à l'autre, sont nécessairement d'accord pour recouvrir dans le Gouvernement national leur autorité illimité qu'ils viennent de perdre ; ils sont véritablement divisés d'intérêt et unis pour le crime. Vouloir extirper la racine du mal, est le remède le plus efficace, sans doute ; mais l'entreprise me paraît très hasardée, vû la grande nécessité de concentrer toutes les forces de l'état au point essentiel, qui est la guerre nationale. Je pense donc qu'il faut en empêcher tout rixe jusqu'à la fin de la campagne d'hiver, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous parler à Salona, et dont je travaille toujours à faire adopter l'exécution.

La première défaite des Ipsariotes avait fait une impression très forte à toute la nation, que dans le premier moment j'ai crû totalement perdue, et qui bientôt après a commencé à prendre les mesures nécessaires au salut de l'état : nous avons eu toujours le même caractère, et les Philippiques de Démosthène nous le montre jusqu'à l'évidence. L'arrivée de l'argent d'Angleterre produisit d'abord au Gouvernement, et puis aux soldats une espèce de réveil, qui n'a pas manqué son effet : nombre de victoires signalées sur terre et sur mer, dont le détail est contenu dans nos papiers publics, vient de relever le

courage de mes compatriotes jusqu'au degré de l'audace ; ils ne désirent actuellement que de se mesurer avec les armées du satrape d'Egypte. Heureux de pouvoir vous annoncer par la suite, que ce n'était pas par un excès d'amour-propre, que l'on ne craint pas beaucoup chez nous cette expedition Egyptienne !

Ci-joint mon apologie que j'ai fait insérer dans les *Chroniques de la Grèce*. Elle ne contient qu'une petite partie du détail, dont elle était susceptible ; me bornant à l'indispensable, j'ai crû de mon devoir d'éviter de faire du mal à qui que ce soit : la vérité d'ailleurs est éternelle ! il faut qu'elle se fasse jour au milieu des tenebres de l'intrigue. Nous autres, qui avons voulu que notre nation prenne les armes pour recouvrir ses droits imprescriptibles à l'indépendance, et qui lui avons promis de venir partager des dangers, nous devons, ce me semble, nous borner plus que les autres, surpris par la guerre, à la servir de toutes les manières possibles, en laissant à l'historien attentif le soin de decouvrir les vrais services de chacun de nous. Pourvu que Colpocetroni et Deligiany n'aient pu avoir le dessus et revoquer la Loi d'Epidaurus, seul gage du bonheur futur de ma nation, (ce qui ne pouvait aucunement s'effectuer si l'Est de Roumely prenait son partie, comme elle était disposé,) que l'on n'aime pas à avouer si j'y aie contribué.

On vient d'établir ici une Société Philanthropique, dont le but est de secourir les pauvres, les malades, les veuves et les orphelins, et d'élever les orphelins et les pauvres enfans. M. Blaquiere en a pris l'organisation pour la faire imprimer à Londres ; il est membre de cette société et d'une commission qu'elle vient de nommer pour l'Angleterre. Je vous recommande très particu-

lièrement cet établissement, si nécessaire à l'humanité souffrante. Mon petit ouvrage n'est pas encore prêt pour la presse, n'ayant pas eu l'occasion d'y porter la dernière main, faute de repos ; quant au papier, que vous m'avez donné pour son édition, je viens de le donner à mon tour à l'imprimerie d'Hydra, à condition de l'employer à l'impression de la Loi d'Epidaure, telle qu'elle nous a été donnée par le second Congrès National.

Il me tarde de voir arriver l'imprimerie que vous m'avez promise ; je veux me livrer à quelque ouvrage périodique.

Le Général Odyssée est en Livadie ; le Gouvernement se propose de lui donner le commandement de mille soldats, payés et nourris aux frais du trésor public. M. Trelawny est avec lui, et M. Humphreys demeure à Tripolitza.

Au reste je saisis cette nouvelle occasion, pour vous donner l'assurance réitérée des sentimens de haute estime, avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur le Colonel,

Votre très humble et

très obeissant Serviteur,

T. NEGRIS.

A Mons. le Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

Sir,

I AM extremely sorry not to have received any news of you since your departure from the Island of Zante ; I hope, nevertheless, that letters from you are on the

road ; for, however distant you may be from Greece, you doubtless still preserve its remembrance, and its interests cannot but be dear to you. If Greece has not yet moral attractions for men of distinguished merit, the grandeur of its immediate enterprize, and the salutary results for the human race, which we have a right to expect from it, must excite an interest in the minds of good men. All these considerations forbid my doubting of your being desirous to obtain information of the state of affairs in Greece, a short *exposé* of the progress of which, subsequent to your departure, I shall therefore proceed to lay before you, for your satisfaction.

The Oligarchic party in the Peloponnesus, which during the past winter had compelled the Government to undertake an intestine war, as soon as it found it for its interest to put an end to the war, forced the Government to bring it to a close, which in a very little time afterwards it might have done once for all. It was for this reason that I then declared, that I only saw in what was commonly called the end of the war, the *end of the beginning* of a civil war, which every thing induces me to believe indispensable. The results have justified my opinion, and new quarrels are now in agitation ; for these we are indebted to the two Oligarchic Bodies of the Peloponnesus, who, though hitherto opposed to each other, are now united by necessity, for the recovery of that unlimited authority in the National Government which they have just lost. They are truly divided in interest, and united for crime. To extirpate the root of the evil would doubtless be the most efficacious remedy ; but the enterprize appears to me highly dangerous, considering the absolute necessity of concentrating the whole force

of the state to the essential point, which is the National War. I am of opinion, that all contention should be stilled till the termination of the winter-campaign, of which I had the honour to speak to you at Salona, and the execution of which I am still labouring to get adopted.

The first defeat of the Ipsariets had made a very strong impression on the whole nation, which at the moment I considered totally lost, and which soon after began to take the necessary steps for the salvation of the state. We have always borne the same character, as the Philippics of Demosthenes will evidently prove to you. The arrival of the money from England produced first in the Government, and then in the soldiery, a sort of rousing, which has not been without its effect; a number of signal victories by land and sea, the details of which are contained in our public papers, have raised the courage of our fellow-countrymen to the height of audacity, and they actually breathe nothing but a desire to measure themselves with the armies of the satrap of Egypt. Happy shall I be if I am enabled to announce to you hereafter, that it is not an excess of self-love which renders us so little fearful of the Egyptian expedition!

Annexed you have my apology, which I have procured to be inserted in the "Greek Chronicle." It contains but a small part of the detail of which it was susceptible: confining myself to what was indispensable, I have thought it my duty to avoid doing injury to any person whatever; truth, moreover, is eternal! she is sure to make herself seen through the obscurity of intrigue. We, who have urged our country to take up arms to recover her imprescriptible rights to independence, ought, it seems

to me, to confine ourselves more than others, surprised by war, to serve her in every possible manner, leaving to the attentive historian the care of discovering the real services of each of us. Provided Colocotroni and Deligiani do not gain the upper hand, and revoke the Law of Epidaurus, the sole pledge of the future happiness of my country, (which can in no way be effected, if the East of Romelia takes her part, as she was disposed to do,) let them refuse to confess whether I have contributed to it.

A Philanthropic Society has just been established here, the object of which is to relieve the poor, the sick, widows and orphans, and to educate orphans and the children of the poor. Mr. Blaquiere has taken its regulations, to get them printed in London; he is a member of the Society, and also of a Committee, which it has just appointed for England.* I most particularly recommend to you this establishment, so essential for suffering humanity. My little work is not yet ready for the press, not having had an opportunity to give it the last touches. With regard to the paper which you gave me for printing it, I have just given it to the Hydra Press, on condition of their employing it to print the Law of Epidaurus, as it was granted to us by the second National Congress. I am impatient for the arrival of the press which you promised: I wish to devote myself to some periodical work.

General Odysseus is in Livadia; the Government proposes to give him the command of 1000 soldiers, paid and fed at the expense of the National Treasury. Mr.

* Vide p. 139, &c. of Capt. Blaquiere's "Second Visit to Greece."

Trelawny is with him, and Mr. Humphreys remains at Tripolitza.

I seize this new opportunity of giving you the reiterated assurance of the sentiments of profound esteem with which I have the honour to be,

Colonel,

Your very humble, and

Most obedient servant,

THEODORE NEGRIS.

To Colonel Stanhope, &c. &c.

From Captain Humphreys to Colonel Stanhope.

Tripolitza, July 12th, 1824.

My dear Sir,

WE have been kept long in an agitating state of suspense; it has at length ended. The money is to be given to the Government: how they will dispose of it and employ it remains to be seen. Party spirit is raging at its height; *you* can have some idea of the intrigues that are carrying on, but few else. Blaquiere has been, and is, the dupe of Mavrocordato. It is a debt you owe to public opinion to throw some light on the true character of that soi-disant prince.

We hear nothing from Mr. Gordon; I therefore suppose he is not coming: this is to me a severe disappointment. I last night received from Trelawny the intelligence that Barff, Logotheti, and Conduriottis, were the commissioners. I had been laying on my oars: I shall now resume activity, though with a heavy heart. The

Turks, you will have heard ere this reaches you, have made a successful attack on the Island of Ipsara. Their plans seem this year systematically and well arranged; they must have able heads among them, and there is every chance of our having busy work this campaign. The Turks will have the assistance of men of ability, for *they*, at least, have the sense to appreciate their value, and to recompense their services. Every pert travelled Greek, in his Franc dress, with his gleanings of European vices, and smattering of letters, now assumes a vast importance, lays down his opinion of every one as an infallible law, aspires to the rank of minister and general, and thinks of nothing but cutting off the old chiefs root and branch. Regular troops, or anything else regular, is for the moment out of the question. It is now an awful state of affairs, for the happiness, the existence of many thousands are pending on almost the present moment. In about eight days, the money will arrive at Napoli.

Ulysses is still at Napoli; for him they have done nothing, except that there has been an attempt to assassinate him. He was shot at when sitting at his window, and narrowly escaped. Colliopulo is also at Napoli; he called on me when here, and I like him much. Colocotroni is expected at Napoli, and they say Mavrocordato is also coming. There will be a clash of interests. For my own part, I shall stick to the wreck till the last. I go to Napoli in two days with Mr. Gill, who is here to procure some articles to form a cistern in Ulysses' fortress. He tells me he writes to you. He is a most useful man, and his ideas are well worth attention. Trelawny succeeded in getting the guns, in consequence

of which Mavrocordato and his myrmidons accuse him of every thing and anything. Kalergi, a young Russian Greek, who was one of the deputies, said, speaking with warmth of Mavrocordato, "*Oui, nous le ferons roi de la Grèce,—Dieu nous en garde!*" When that happens, the best way to help the Greek people will be to join the Turks and fight against him. Ulysses talked of turning merchant the other day, since he could no longer support the rank of general; but, on second thoughts, having, he says, no capital, he will turn barber: I don't know whether he means to cut beards or cut throats. He is, at all events, the only man I yet know in Greece, likely to do anything, be it good or bad.

Yours, most faithfully,

N. W. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. How is little Ali Mustapha? I miss my little page. I have received no letters since I have been in the country. I should be delighted to hear from you.

Napoli di Romania, July 19th.

I HAVE been here three or four days, waiting for the Government to give me some appointment, or order me somewhere. The Greeks, they say, have retaken Ipsara. They fought extremely well, and if there was but an active enterprising man at the head of affairs, we might get on well; but with two merchants (who have not an idea above making a bargain) and a doctor at the head of affairs, there will be nothing done. Ulysses has left for Argos, as the Government don't allow him rations. Fowke is just arrived, with two Suliot captains; he has been campaigning in the moun-

tains, but they are wretchedly off and not strong enough to effect anything. Mavrocordato has paid the Suliotas half their claims; they have received 8000 piastres, and have left Missolonghi.

I am now quite in disgrace with ministers, as are you and Trelawny, and the poor doctor Prince Marius,* who has more chance of establishing his rank of Prince than establishing his post. Colletti says *when* they have determined on forming the regiment, he will let me know. The poor doctor has arrived from Argos; he is quite in despair at the ingratitude and folly of his countrymen. Colletti taxed him as with a crime for having been with you, and for being constantly with Trelawny and myself. Captain Hastings is here, and has been and is waiting for his answer about the steam-boat. They wish to have it, but it is the jealousy of the Hydriots which opposes itself. If they will give me a good command, I will join the regulars, if not, I shall go with Ulysses.

From Count G. Metaxa to Colonel Stanhope.

Monsieur,

D'APRES ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me communiquer à Zante, voici la requête pour son excellence Mons. Canning, avec les pieces nécessaires. Il me

* Marius had been a courier, a quack doctor, a cook, a capitano, &c. This title was given to ridicule Mavrocordato for calling himself Prince.

semble qu'elle est en règle, et l'affaire est maintenant confiée à votre bonté. Je vous prie de vouloir bien m'accuser la réception de cette lettre, et m'en donner quelque nouvelle consolante le plutôt que possible, par la voie de M. Barff. Agréez d'avance, monsieur le Colonel, mes plus respectueux remerciemens, et ceux de toute ma famille pour le bien que vous allez procurer à notre cher frère, et au même temps les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.

Votre très humble serviteur,

GIOVANNI METAXA ANDRIZZI.

Cefalonia, le 12 Août, 1824.

TRANSLATION.

Sir,

IN pursuance of the advice which you did me the honour to offer me at Zante, I send you the memorial for his Excellency Mr. Canning, with the necessary documents. It appears to me to be drawn up in due form, and the business is now entrusted to your kindness. I beg of you to do me the favour to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and to give me some consolatory news concerning it as soon as possible, through the medium of Mr. Barff. Accept, Colonel, by anticipation, my most respectful thanks, and those of all my family, for the service which you are about to render my dear brother, and at the same time the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

Your very humble servant,

GIOVANNI METAXA ANDRIZZI.

Cephalonia, August 12, 1824.

From Colonel Stanhope to Count Metaxa.

London, 12th May, 1825.

Dear Count,

ON my return from Italy I received your kind letter. I immediately forwarded to Mr. Secretary Canning your petition, addressed to the King of England, praying that your estates, confiscated by the Lord High Commissioner Maitland, on account of your having joined your struggling countrymen, might be restored. Judging from the acts of Mr. Canning's administration, there are strong grounds for hoping that his Majesty, admiring your lofty patriotism, will pardon your having broken a law, through which your duties as a subject and as a Greek were opposed to each other, and against which a Socrates might have offended.

Great Britain appears to me to act towards Greece upon principles of honest neutrality; this, considering that your cause involves the interest of every substantive state in Europe, is, perhaps, the wisest policy. You should look to the example, the counsels, and the friendship of England. She is rich and powerful. In war she can secure your maritime possessions; in peace, she has lent you a considerable sum of money to promote your independence and your liberties. This enormous debt you never can repay, nor expect further aid from her, unless you establish a sound government. To promote this end was my object. I never would have given up the British loan till I had seen the foundations of order laid, and a reasonable ground for hoping that the dividends would be faithfully discharged. 'Tis

false, however, to say that I withheld the British loan and that the consequence was the fall and massacre at Ipsara. On the contrary, long before the loan arrived, I took precautionary measures with the Greek Government to prepare for its security, reception, and employment; and, at my suggestion, commissioners were sent for that purpose to Zante. I called, too, upon Count Logotheti and Mr. Barff, to render up the loan, provided certain wholesome measures should be adopted; but they refused; on the plea of my not being empowered (in consequence of the death of Lord Byron and the absence of Colonel Gordon) to draw the money; and again, because the government of the Ionian Isles had forbidden the money to be sent to Greece. Within ten days after this refusal, but long before the money could have operated any thing in their favour,* the brave Ipsariots were overpowered.

Should his Majesty be graciously pleased to allow of your return to the Ionian Isles, I trust you will find that government much improved. Through the instrumentality, it is said; of that truly lofty-minded and highly-talented Greek, Capo d'Istria, your country obtained a free representative constitution. His piercing sagacity, at an early period, foretold the Greek revolution, and he wished to found a constitution in the Ionian Isles, from which Greece might benefit. Sir T. Maitland did much good by destroying the power of your feudal lords, by

* The Greek Government took twenty-one days to sign and return the loan-contract to Zante, although the ship in which the loan was sent from England, reached Greece in nineteen days.

establishing a less bad system of administrative justice, and by making fine roads through your islands; but he annihilated the free spirit of your REPRESENTATIVE government, which would otherwise have been a model for Greece to imitate. Let us hope that, under Mr. Canning's administration, your constitution will be put in force. The light which England may shed upon the Ionian Isles will then spread and illumine the neighbouring countries. Greeks may become the instructors of Greeks, and the founders, perhaps, of a better order of things in Asia.

I am,

Your most devoted servant,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

To the Count Giovanni Metaxa.

From M. Psyllas to Colonel Stanhope.

Salamina, 19 Agosto, 1824.

Stimatissimo Signor Colonello,

Ecco finalmente dopo le nostre moltiplicate ricerche, che abbiamo potuto trovare un stampatore per poter mettere in moto la machina onnipotente dell' illuminazione dei popoli, che lei ha avuto la bontà di regalare a' miei compatrioti al nome del rispettabile Comitato, e che tanto fece e oprò col senno e colla mano per vedere Atene vantarsi di un giornal libero. Collo Stimatissimo Signor Blaquiere le mando il prospetto, in sostanza quel medesimo che lei ha lasciato, ma cangiato un poco superficialmente per non dar troppo agli occhj di certi uni. Le de'vo dire, Signore, che la rarità dei stampa-

tori in Grecia e assai grande, e quando si aveva pronto il primo foglio del giornale, si ammalò quà tutta la famiglia dello stampatore, sì che lui addesso non è istato di travagliare, e questa è la ragione ch' io non le ho scritto sin ora, aspettando sempre di mandarle due tre i primi numeri, per così dire, del vostro giornale. Avanti qualche mese che son venuto in Salamina per cominciar a travagliare sul giornale, non potendo agire altrimenti, ho mandato a Idra dal Sr. L. Condourioti ed ho levato quel denaro che lei gli aveva mandato per il direttore del giornale: tallar. 142½, dal quale ho dato la metà allo stampatore. Anche Anargiro Petrachi ha levato quel della scola e della società.

Quest' anno pare che sia l' anno critico dei nostri affari. Grandi preparative dalla parte del nemico. La catastrofe d' Ipsarà agitò molto lo spirito della nazione: ma forse era necessaria. La flotta minaccia presentemente Samos; si spera però generalmente che non vi potrà far molto, perchè l' imprestito s' è messo in buon uso, ed una flotta di cento tanti bastimenti si è messa in vele. Mechmed Ali si aspetta di giorno in giorno. Salona si minaccia dal Rumeli Valessi con 25 mille uomini; ma in un attacco che tento per il Stretto di Salona perdette molta gente e si ritirò virgognosamente a Gravià. Atene è bloccata di lontano da Omer Passà di Negroponte. Dall' incluso bulletino vedrà la vittoria che gli Ateniesi fecero in Maratona. In quanto alle famiglie della Grecia orientale soffrono e muojono quà dalla miseria; ma la speranza della cara libertà prevale a questi mali.

Pienamente saprà il nostro stato interno dal mio stigmatissimo amico Sr. Blaquiere, col quale ho parlato

che facciate che ci si mandino quà qualche buoni giornali Inglesi.

Di piu la stamperia nostra essendo in ogni altra cosa completissima le mancano dei caratteri majuscoli di questa grandezza: p. e. A, B, Γ, &c. onde la prego comunemente con tutti gli Ateniesi che ce ne mandate qualche portione. Il popolo d' Atene, che lei ha tanto amato, le raccomanda ancor per me i giovinotti che vengono mandati al Comitato da parte del nostro Governo.

Vi confesso il mio profondissimo rispetto.

GIORGIO PSYLLAS.

TRANSLATION.

Salamina, 19th August, 1824.

Most esteemed Colonel,

AT length, after reiterated researches, we have been enabled to find a printer to put in motion the omnipotent machine of popular illumination, which you have had the goodness to present to my fellow-countrymen, in the name of the respected Committee, doing so much both with head and hand, in order that Athens might boast of a free journal. By the most esteemed Mr. Blaquiere I send you the prospectus, in substance the same with that which you left, [vide p. 167,] but altered a little, superficially, in order to avoid giving offence to certain individuals. I have to inform you, sir, that the scarcity of printers in Greece is very great; and that when the first sheet of the journal was ready, the whole family of the printer fell sick, so that he himself is not yet in a condition to work, and this is the reason that I

have not written before, being always in hopes of sending you the two or three first numbers of, what I may call, *your* journal. Some months since, when I came to Salamina, to commence working on the journal, not being able to do otherwise, I sent to Hydra, and received from Signor L. Conduriottis the money which you had remitted to him for the director of the journal, (142½ dollars,) of which I have given half to the printer. Anargiro Petraki has also received that which was left for the school and for the society.

This appears to be the critical year of our affairs. Great preparations on the part of the enemy. The catastrophe of Ipsara highly agitated the national spirit, but it was, perhaps, necessary. The fleet at present threatens Samos; but it is generally hoped that it will not be able to effect much there, because the loan has been put to good use, and a fleet, of some hundred vessels, has set sail. Mahommed Ali is daily expected. Salona is threatened by Rumeli Valessi, with 25,000 men; but in an attack which he attempted by the Pass of Salona he suffered considerable loss, and retreated shamefully to Gravia. Athens is blockaded at a distance by Omer Pacha, of Negropont. In the enclosed bulletin you will see an account of the victory gained by the Athenians at Marathon. With regard to the families of Eastern Greece they suffer and die of misery; but the hope of liberty prevails over all their woes.

You will receive full information of our condition from my most esteemed friend Mr. Blaquiere, with whom I have spoken on the subject of your sending hither some good English newspapers. Moreover, our printing-office being complete in every other respect,

we want only capitals of the size here represented, which I beg of you, together with all the other Athenians, to send us. The people of Athens, whom you have loved so well, also recommend to you, through me, the youths sent to the Committee by our Government.

I profess towards you the most profound respect.

GIORGIO PSYLLAS.

From Doctor Marius to Colonel Stanhope.

Napoli di Romania, le ¹¹/₂₂ Août, 1824.

Monsieur le Colonel,

PROFITANT du départ de Mr. Blaquiere, j'ai pris la résolution d'envoyer mon fils Leonidas en Angleterre, dans l'espérance que les amis de l'humanité, et de la Grèce, dans ce pays célèbre lui feront donner une éducation, par laquelle il pourra un jour rendre des services réels à la patrie. D'après ce que vous avez bien voulu me dire à cet égard, pendant que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous accompagner d'Athènes, il est inutile d'ajouter combien je compte sur vous, mon Colonel, dans une affaire qui me touche de si près. En effet, il n'y a rien qui pourrait intéresser un père, autant que l'éducation de son enfant dans le moment actuel, lorsqu'il y a l'espérance de le faire valoir pour le bien de ma patrie. Vous savez du reste, combien je suis en état d'apprécier la manière d'élever la jeunesse en Angleterre, puisque je suis en relation avec elle depuis tant d'années. Enfin, tout ce que je vous dirai de plus c'est, qu'en prenant mon fils sous votre protection, vous me rendrez une faveur au dessus de tout prix.

En souhaitant le bon Dieu de vous conserver pour bien d'années, j'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect.

Monsieur le Colonel,
 Votre très dévoué et très obeissant serviteur,
 JEAN MARIOS.

P.S.—En arrivant en Grèce j'ai trouvé tout le parti du Prince Mavrocordato acharné contre vous ; quelqu'un de ce parti à été jusqu'à me dire que l'on pense à se protester contre vous par rapport à l'emprunt. Ci joint une feuille de Missolonghi qui parle beaucoup de vous. Recevez, je vous prie, un peu de miel d'Hymettos d'Athènes que j'ai été moi-même y chercher.

JEAN MARIOS.

TRANSLATION.

Napoli di Romania, ¹¹/₂₂ August, 1824.

Colonel,

PROFITING by the departure of Mr. Blaquiere, I have taken the resolution of sending my son Leonidas to England, in the hope that the friends of humanity, and of Greece, in that celebrated country, will give him an education, by means of which he may be enabled, at some future time, to render real services to his country. After what you said to me on the subject, whilst I had the honour to accompany you from Athens, it is unnecessary to add how much I reckon on you, Colonel, in a matter which so nearly concerns me. In fact, there is nothing which can so deeply interest a father as the education of his child, at the present mo-

ment, when there is a hope of rendering him useful to my country. You know, moreover, how well able I am to appreciate the mode of education in England, having been connected with that country for so many years. Finally, all that I can add is, that by taking my son under your protection, you will do me a favour beyond all price.

Praying God to preserve you many years, I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect,

Colonel,

Your most devoted and obedient Servant,

JOHN MARIUS.

P.S.—On my arrival in Greece I found all the party of Prince Mavrocordato in arms against you; one of that party went so far as to tell me that they have thoughts of protesting against your conduct with respect to the loan. With this I send a Missolonghi paper, which speaks much of you. Pray accept a little honey of Hymettos from Athens, which I have been there myself to procure.

JOHN MARIUS.

From Odysseus to Colonel Stanhope.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

Volitza, the 1st of September, 1824.

Sir,

FROM the period of parting with you at Salona, I have not had the honour of a letter from you, although I have often addressed you concerning my complaints,

as well on my own account as that of the other captains who are, from similar causes, here at Volitza. We are assembled, in order to prevent the rights of the people from being ravished from them. Our rulers, having become possessed of the loan, have thought of nothing but of murdering all those who are heard to speak of the rights of the most wretched people of Greece, in order that they may hereafter remain free from those they fear, and that they may tyrannize at full liberty. I say this to you, sir, for thrice have I been fired at with musquets; the first time at Nauplia. On all three occasions I seized the parties, and exposed them before the Government personally. On the first occasion, the Government said that judgement should be pronounced on the morrow; but, during the night, the assassins were set at liberty. On the morning, while waiting for judgement, as I sat at a window, I, a second time, saw myself fired at. I immediately sprang on and seized the villains, and again presented them to the Government:—again did the Government put me off till the morrow. I waited: and, on the following day, I suddenly saw the same persons firing at me, for the third time. Again I seized them, and delivered them, once more, into the hands of the Government, and forthwith departed for the army. I had scarcely commenced my journey, when, on the road, a letter was handed me from the Scotch Captain Finlay, who desired me to hasten to him, as both my life and his were in danger; and, when I reached him, I was informed that a person had been despatched by the Government, and had given him ten thousand dollars to deliver my house up to him, the messenger. Captain Finlay, however,

would not condescend to so base an act, and drove the messenger from his sight, threatening him that if he again dared utter such a word, he would strike him. On this the worthless wretch lost no time, but placed secretly in the road two persons, with directions to murder Captain Finlay wherever they might light on him. They fired at, and wounded him, but, as he saw the pistol presented, he dexterously struck at it with his hand, so that he prevented its wounding mortally, and thus escaped with his life. As to myself, twenty or thirty men, paid by our vile rulers, are prowling about, to seize an opportunity to murder me.

It is thus, sir, that they employ the means attained by the loan, and not for the exigencies of the war. And this I have to inform you, sir, that, for the preservation of our lives, and as a last refuge, there is now no other resource left us than to throw ourselves on the mercy of the Turks,* as well ourselves as the most unhappy people of Greece, who, flying from one yoke,

* Some persons may think that it would be more conducive to Ulysses' and to my interests—more prudent, in short, to have suppressed parts of this letter. Such cunning conduct I scorn. If the facts stated by this great Capitano be true, his feelings are natural, and such as might be expected from a person of his education. The immediate fault is attributable to the Greek Government, but the original sin lies with the contractors of the loan, for not having required and enforced certain conditions that would have tended to promote reconciliation and independence. Without union, the subscribers to this loan may depend upon it that they will never obtain one farthing of their dividends. Quackery and falsehood are fatal in their consequences. The suppression of truth is alike injurious to the subscribers and to the Greeks.—L. S.

and seeing that they will fall under a worse, prefer the first to the second. These circumstances, sir, I submit to you, that you may appreciate the state of Greece. Arrogating to myself the honour of saluting you, with profound respect,

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

ODYSSEUS ANDRITZO.

To Colonel Stanhope, London.

I have another curious fact to relate :—five months since the period prescribed by the laws for changing the representation elapsed, the new representatives assembled, and were proceeding to change the Government. Many of them were seized on and imprisoned by the ruling party ; others they beat and drove away ; so that they have nearly dispersed the whole, and they endeavour to strike terror into every one, and to secure the representation to themselves, that they may tyrannize over every body.

From Mr. Hodges to Colonel Stanhope.

Missolonghi, 5th Sept. 1824.

Dear Sir,

MY last letter was, I believe, dated the 1st ult. ; I would have written again before this, but one of your injunctions was to write facts,—and this is no small difficulty. Since the campaign began, the reports here have been so numerous, and some of them so much in the Gallic style, that I am particularly anxious to elicit

the truth ; reports, therefore, may reach you which are not noticed by me, and some of them may prove to be facts, but when I find that the Government here have no account of successes that so vitally concern them, I take it for granted that they are not true. For example, I was told, by a highly respectable gentleman at Zante, that accounts had been received there that General Odysseus had totally defeated a division of the Turkish army, had taken six pieces of cannon, nearly all their baggage, and a month's provisions ; and, as a kind of stamp to its being authentic, added, Odysseus has behaved extremely well in this affair. I lost no time, on my return, in applying to Dr. Meyer (one of three Commissioners appointed to manage the Government-affairs here during the prince's absence) for the particulars ; but himself and colleagues knew nothing of the affair.

I cannot omit this opportunity to mention, that, numerous as the difficulties and obstacles, and, indeed, oppositions, were to your zealous exertions for the good of Greece, they have at last begun to adopt your very measures. In the first place, posts are established through Western Greece and the Morea ; and, secondly, the Government have begun to raise, at Napoli, several regular corps, and have ordered the Frank dress to be adopted as much as possible. I have strong hopes that, although national habits and prejudices at the time thwarted some of your patriotic and judicious measures, the time will, ere long, arrive when more of them will be adopted.

Omar Pasha, to whom the Prince is opposed, has fallen back towards Arta. Nothing of consequence, as

far as I have been able to learn, has taken place between the armies since my last communication. I learn, for certain, that the loss of the Turks in the affair with Captain Goura was 1000 killed, besides wounded and prisoners. You will, doubtless, ere this, have heard of the affair at Samos ; but, as I have been put in possession of the main facts, I presume to give them.

The Turkish fleet, and transports full of troops, were attacked by the Greek Vice-Admiral George Sakturi, with sixteen brigs and five fire-ships. Each fire-ship advanced, supported by two brigs ; the first, commanded by Captain Tzeply, was sent against a frigate, and did not succeed ; but the second, commanded by the gallant Ipsariot, Captain Canaris, (who has before burnt three Turkish ships of the line,) fully succeeded : the frigate was burned, and 600 troops, with the whole crew, perished. In a word, the Turkish loss was one frigate, one corvette, one brig, and twenty sloops, and other barks burnt, and a number of others much damaged. By this gallant exploit, 25,000 Turks, destined to disembark at Samos, have relinquished their enterprize, having first had from 3 to 4000 men, that had landed, cut to pieces ; and the fleet has been obliged to return to Constantinople.

Prince Mavrocordato has been recalled to the seat of government ; but the advance of the Turkish army, under Omar Pasha, towards this place, induced him to put himself at the head of the troops opposed to the Pasha. I am sorry to say, Captain Hesketh and Dr. Millingen have been obliged, by sickness, to return hither from the Prince's army, but they hope, in a few days, to be sufficiently recovered to rejoin him. Mr. Finlay

has been extremely ill ever since I wrote last. He is now at Zante performing quarantine, preparatory to returning to England. At his earnest request I went to Zante with him ; his debility was so great, that he was obliged to be carried to the boat on a bier, having, two nights previous, been obliged to be brought, in a similar manner, from the village of Carasomo, twelve miles from hence. I am happy to say, that when I left him, on Monday last, he was better.

I have been anxiously looking out for a letter from you, sir. They want their foundery fitted up, and set to work, and much other important duty performed ; but I lament my inability to proceed for want of means.

With the exception of Captain Hesketh and Dr. Millingen, sick, I am the only Englishman here ; and, at this moment, when the place is menaced by the Turks, I beg, respectfully, to submit to you, whether it would not be a disgrace to our national character, for the Greeks to say, “ as soon as the place is in danger, the only Englishman fit for duty deserts us ;” if, therefore, the order for my return to England should arrive, I humbly hope and trust that you, sir, and the Hon. Greek Committee will see, that, after the shameful flight of Mr. Parry, after being here only seven or eight weeks, and also that of the mechanics, after being here only a few days, that, consistent with our national honour, and the honour of the Honourable Committee, I could not return till after the campaign is over ; (you are aware, sir, that this place is, by no means, desirable to stay at;) should, however, this be the case, I most respectfully solicit your good offices with the Hon.

Committee, to authorize Mr. Bowring to pay Mrs. Hodges, for the maintenance of my family, the same monthly allowance as she at present receives, leaving it to the generosity of the Hon. Committee, what further remuneration they may think proper to make me, should I live to return.

Captain Hesketh hopes you have not forgotten your promise to write to him : he gives his respects.

I have not heard from Mr. Gill since 21st July, when he was at Tripolitza with General Odysseus. I am afraid he is sick. I hear that the Government have given orders to the commanders and captains of their armies, to make as many prisoners as they can, but not to give any quarter to *Franks* found in the service of the *Turks*.

In the humble hope that you, sir, will kindly look over all my imperfections, I beg leave to subscribe myself, with sincere respect,

Dear Sir,

Your truly grateful, and most
obedient humble servant,

J. HODGES.

To the Hon. Colonel Stanhope,
&c. &c. &c.

P.S. I have volunteered my services to the Prince, to assist in defending this place, or to march to meet the enemy to arrest his progress.

From Capt. Hastings to Col. Stanhope.

Thompson's Hotel, Holles-Street,
Cavendish-Square, 18th Oct. 1824.

Dear Sir,

I ARRIVED in London the day before yesterday in the Greek schooner, *Amphitrite*; and as you must be anxious to know how affairs are really going on in that part of the world, I am induced to trouble you with a letter. I also send you the prospectus of *Psyllas's Athenian Journal*, no numbers of which, however, had appeared when I quitted Greece, on the last day of August. The lithographic press, which you sent to Ipsara, of course perished there, and the German with it. Now to affairs. The Government having gained the ascendancy, Colocotroni, being entirely deserted by his soldiers, was securely lodged in Napoli; before, however, that took place, there was much contest, each party being jealous of the other, and supposing that their adversaries were about to appropriate the fortress to themselves, as Colocotroni had done; and, perhaps, there was ground for the suspicion: Londos, who had made the capitulation with Colocotroni, had taken care to protect this chief, in order that he might join with him, in the event of being himself dissatisfied. The Hydriots were offended at this, and thought that Londos was desirous of playing the Colocotroni at Napoli, while, on his part, he thought the Hydriots had similar views, and he was not singular in harbouring such suspicion; all this retarded much the entering. At length, however, the manner of taking possession was so arranged, as to preclude almost the possibility of any one

party seizing the place for itself. Petro Bey held out successfully in Maina; and Apostoli Colocotroni at Pyrgos. The Government was in daily expectation of receiving the money from Zante, and accordingly the ships remained ready for sea, laying in their harbours, awaiting the usual advance of ready cash, according to their laudable custom: thus Ipsara was lost. The terror with which the loss of this island impressed them, gave, for the moment, some appearance of energy to the Government; this, however, did not last long, as they found the money long in coming from Zante. You will inquire, perhaps, what Ulysses was about at this time? Nothing!! unless we call allowing himself to be made a dupe of by the Government something. Had Ulysses chosen to have marched into Romelia, making little advances, until the arrival of the loan, he would have commanded in the eastern Romelia,—he would have prevented all that country from being devastated,—and he would have obtained that military renown, which he has left others to reap. Instead of this, he preferred remaining at the seat of Government, not risking his money, and hoping that the loan would never arrive; in which event, the other captains and himself were hatching new plots. This gave the Government an opportunity of setting up Goura against him; and Ulysses did not see his error until every body else had seen it. The success at Samos is a fact, although, like all their successes, much exaggerated. Of the Egyptian expedition we knew nothing for certain, except that it had been at Rhodes. Ulysses promised to send home a brother by me to your care; one, a very fine boy, was dashed to pieces the day the messenger

arrived to carry him away; the other he talked of sending to Zante, to wait my arrival there; but he did not appear. Marius prevailed on Blaquiere to take charge of his son, as he alleged that you had promised to educate him. The boy, however, died off Malaga.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK ABNEY HASTINGS.

From Captain Humphreys to Colonel Stanhope.

Tripolitza, October 20, 1824.

My dear Sir,

I WRITE not from a land of liberty and freedom, but from a country, at present, a prey to anarchy and confusion, with the dismal prospect of future tyranny.

Our land-operations have been trifling, and only remarkable from the extraordinary inactivity of both Turks and Greeks: the Turks have not succeeded in advancing into the country, but have remained encamped at the entrances of the different passes, where the Greeks have posted themselves, and now, as the rains and severe weather are commencing, are retiring.

Odysseus is at his fortress of Parnassus. Bribery, assassination, and every provocation, have been employed against him. An English officer, Captain Fenton, who is with Odysseus, as well as Trelawny, has been twice attempted to be assassinated, after refusing to accept a bribe of 10,000 dollars to deliver up the fortress. Mavrocordato's agents principally influence the government: the executive body remain stationary,

and part of the loan has been employed to secure their re-election. I hear that Colonel Gordon is coming out. I await his arrival, or I believe that I should ere this have quitted "this land of battle and of song," where it is utterly impossible to be of any utility.

The Commissioners have arrived with the Florida. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Gill went immediately to Napoli, to receive instructions relative to the unpleasant responsibility entrusted to their charge. Mr. Hodges' situation, left alone at Missolonghi, was attended with every difficulty;—he has acquitted himself as an Englishman. Poor Mr. Gill died, a few days ago, at Napoli, of a fever. I understand that the correctness of your report has much exasperated the Government. Captain Blaquiére stands high with them. I do not think that Colonel Gordon's coming will be attended with any advantage; and disgust will, most probably, soon determine him to return. The Commissioners have gone to Smyrna from ill-health. I have not seen them.

Yours, most sincerely,

N. W. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. Count Metaxa requests me to beg your kind attention and influence in his behalf, relative to his petition to Mr. Canning.

From M. Psyllas to Colonel Stanhope.

Atene, li ⁴/₁₅ Novemb. 1824.

Stimatissimo Signor Colonelo,

DA un vostro amico Sr. Lichfield, il quale presente-

mente si trova quà, abbiamo potuto sapere che eravate in Genova, quando questo signore lasciò Italia per venire a queste parti. L'istesso ci parlò molto dei vostri scritti ultimamente pubblicati sui nostri affari, dei quali noi quà non sapevamo nulla, fuorchè di un pezzo della vostra lettera a Mr. Bowring, che abbiamo visto nel foglio d' Idra.

Io vi ho scritto più volte fin ora, e non ho mancato di inviarvi sempre il nostro Giornale, ma non avendo avuto nessuna notizia da voi, credo, che non vi saranno pervenuto sino adesso.

Non manco dunque anche con questo amico Sr. G. Scholes, che viene adesso per Italia, di farvi noto, che Morea è di nuovo agitato, dopo il cominciamento del terzo periodo, non essendo stati contenti i primati del Peloponneso alla scelta dei membri del *corpo executivo*, si che cominciarono in Morea a convocar assemblee particolari e nazionali. Ma gli attuali governatori non volendo simile assemblee, screpitó di nuovo la guera civile. Exerciti d' ambi le parti si formarono in Morea, il figlio di Colocotroni Cap. Pano è stato ucciso in una battaglia fuori di Tripolizza.

Capi del partito contrario ai Governatori sono Colocotroni, A. Zaimis, A. Londos, Notaropulos, e quasi tutti i primati di Morea. Io non credo che abbiano torto in tutto, ma in tanto il popolo, degno in ogni riguardo della sua libertà, soffre molto ingiustamente. Per ciò non cessiamo di condannare il procedere di questi Uomini, e perciò che parono aver ragione, di raccomandare un assemblea nazionale, nella quale si può almeno sfogare in parole, e dalle quali forse qualche cosa utile sarà prodotta per la nazione. Si spera per altro general-

mente, che l'affare anderà a finire presto ad una simil assemblea.

Assiduamente vi priego, Sr. Colonelo, che mi mandate dei vostri consigli. Sapiate che nostra stampa è più libera che non si pensava mai. Gura è divenuto un buon cittadino, e difende molto la libertà della stampa.

Vi ho pregato più volte per dei giornali Inglesi, che ci potranno essere assai utili: il tutto del nostro giornale si deve alla vostra bontà, e per conseguenza non siamo lontani da sperare, che anche questa grazia l'avrà Atene da voi.

La nostra scuola Lancasterica fa gran progressi, e dopo qualche mese ne faremo ancora un'altra. Nostra Società Filomusa agisce con zelo per la propagazione dei lumi.

E la più gran parte di questo si deve alla vostra sollecitudine, e vi saremo eternamente grati tutti i vostri Ateniesi. Io particolarmente sarò per sempre colla riconoscenza della vostra bontà verso di me, e collo più profondo rispetto.

GIORGIOS PSYLLAS.

TRANSLATION.

Athens, 15th November, 1824.

Most esteemed Colonel,

FROM a friend of yours, Mr. Lichfield, who is now here, we have learnt that you were at Genoa when that gentleman left Italy to come hither. He has spoken to us much on the subject of your writings, lately published, on our affairs, of which we, at this place, knew nothing, with the exception of a portion of your letter to Mr. Bowring, which we had seen in the Hydra paper.

I have written to you several times before, and have not failed always to send you our journal; but, not having received any intelligence from you, I suppose that they have not reached you. I would not omit, therefore, by my friend Mr. G. Scoles, who is now about to proceed to Italy, to let you know that the Morea is agitated anew since the commencement of the third period, the Primates of the Peloponnesus not being content with the choice of the *Executive Body*, so that they have begun in the Morea to convoke particular and national assemblies: but the present Government not choosing such assemblies, the civil war burst forth anew; armies on both sides were collected in the Morea; and the son of Colocotroni, Capitan Pano, was killed in a battle outside the walls of Tripolitza.

The heads of the party opposed to the Government are Colocotroni, A. Zaimis, A. Londres, Notaropoulos,* and nearly all the Primates of the Morea. I do not believe that they are altogether in the wrong; but, in the meanwhile, the people, who are in every respect worthy of liberty, suffer most unjustly. For this reason, we do not cease to condemn the proceedings of these men; and, in so far as they appear to be in the right, to recommend a national assembly, in which much might, at least, exhale in words, and from which, perhaps, something useful to the nation might be produced; moreover, it is generally hoped that the affair will speedily terminate in such an assembly.

* An archon of an old family. His son commanded the troops who took Napoli from Colocotroni.

I earnestly beg of you, Colonel, to send me some of your counsels. Know that our press is more free than was ever anticipated. Goura has become a good citizen, and steadily maintains the liberty of the press. I have several times requested you to send some English newspapers, which might be very useful to us. The existence of our journal is due to your goodness; and, consequently, we are not far from hoping that Athens will be indebted to you for this additional favour.

Our Lancasterian school makes great progress, and, in a few months' time, we shall form another. Our Philo-Muse Society, also, acts with zeal for the propagation of knowledge. And the greater part of this is due to your solicitude, for which we, all your Athenians, shall feel eternally grateful. In particular, I shall ever remain, with a grateful remembrance of your kindness towards me, and with the most profound respect,

GIORGIO PSYLLAS.

From the Philo-Muse Society to Colonel Stanhope.

TRANSLATION.

Honourable Sir,

THE late occurrences of the war in this quarter, and further, the difficulty of meeting with occasions of conveyance, have prevented our writing you before, according to our duty and desire. Now, however, meeting with a favourable occasion, we hasten to address and to assure you of the depth of our gratitude, and the sentiments of esteem, which are cherished by the Philo-Muse Society towards your valued person.

It received in due course your noble contribution, which you sent from Zante by M. Lazaro Conduriotti, of Spanish pillared dollars, one hundred and ninety, of the greater part of which it has made use in a manner calculated to facilitate the views to the public good held by the Society. Your aid has become known to all the people of Athens, which has augmented vastly the gratitude they cherish for your other benefactions. The Philo-Muse Society, sir, some time back, called together all its common members, and proceeded to effect a new election of elders, who now entirely devote themselves to the introduction of the sciences, and particularly the Lancasterian System. The school, which had before been subjected to an interruption from the occurrences of the war, has been re-opened about a month back, and contains at this moment more than *two hundred students*. The system has gained vastly in Greece. The people every where acknowledging its intrinsic merit and utility, hence it spreads every where in a surprising degree. We see that in this place, in a very little time, there will arise a necessity *for a second and a third school*, and that more than *one thousand children will be collected* from the province of Athens alone. The Philo-Muse Society has not failed to afford pecuniary aid to many destitute children, in order to enable them to attain a good education. The only common evil is, that in these parts there exists a want of many articles necessary for this school, such as *slates and pencils*, &c.

The Philo-Muse Society devotes its attention to the promotion of improved manners, and to researches tending to advance the store and acquirements of the antiquary. It cherishes hopes that the Government will give

up the *Temple of Minerva*, in the Acropolis, to serve as a depôt for it, to secure whatever it may succeed in procuring. It has established its common library in the Hellenic School; in the sequel, this will be removed to a more eligible spot, for which it has applied to the Government, and which has been granted.

In addition to the above, the Philo-Muse Society occupies itself for the time being with whatever presents itself of a useful nature. Its means * do not permit it as yet to extend its views to all the objects which are embraced in its organization. For the means of the Academy to be augmented, and for it to be constituted efficient, as an instrument for the introduction of science and the arts, it will be necessary that all the learned and the friends of good men should concur in the advancement of this revered object, and as one of the most eminent personages on whom the Academy has fixed its regards is your respected self, it expects and hopes, that you will favour it with your wise counsels and maxims; it hopes that you will accomplish much in its favour in the different countries in which you may reside, by your turn of sentiment, and the credit you have every where

* Why do not the learned, and the *millionaires*, and the religious Christians of England assist the Philo-Muse Society in this noble work? Why have the Greek deputies slighted the Committee, and deprived Greece of its influence over the people of Britain, in promoting in a thousand ways the interests of their country? Do they think that any faction, even that of those Islanders who have immortalized themselves, can secure their independence? No. The Greeks must "give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," or their country will fall to pieces under the dominion of foreigners.—L. S.

for your good-will to the system. It gives you full power, in whatever places you may think fit, to introduce or recommend coadjutors to co-operate in the advancement of its views, and to lend their aid, communicating to us their respected names. It solicits you to have the kindness to open for it, or to facilitate the means for its establishing a correspondence with all similar institutions with which you may be acquainted in Europe, having any relationship with whatever tends to the advancement of knowledge, and towards maturing the best system for the education of youth; and that you would communicate to it whatever you might observe and approve of in the practice of such academies and institutions, that we might adopt and introduce them into Greece; finally, it recommends its library to your consideration, which is as yet very poor, and is in great want of all new and extensively useful publications.

For all these your cares and toils, and for all your benefactions and prepossessions in favour of the Greek name, you will have the whole of Greece as a debtor to your generosity, and its collected voices will proclaim you its benefactor.

We subscribe,

With all respect,

The Elders of the Society,

GEORG. PSYLLAS,	} <i>Ephors of Athens.</i>
ANARG. PETRAKI,	
DR. K. VITALIS,	

Athens, 25th Nov. 1824.

From Anargiro Petraki to Colonel Stanhope.

Atene, 29 Decembre, 1824. S.V.

Nobilissimo Signore,

NON so se fin ora pervennero le tante lettere che ho avuto l'onore di scriverle, e con le quali annunziaro a lei l'arrivo di quel dannaro che per somma di lei bontà offerse alla Società e Scuola di Atene. Non te posso abbastanza esprimere nè il sentimento di gratitudine che il popolo Ateniese professa inverso lei, nè l'utilità che si è avuto dal suddetto soccorso. Le Scuole d'Insegnamento Mutuale hanno preso un tal vigore, tanto il metodo Lancasteriano piacque al popolo Ateniese, che manca il tempo materiale onde fabbricare Scuole che possano comprendere i ragazzi che tutto di ivi accorrono. La privazione che abbiamo di ardois e creyons fà grande ostacolo ai progressi di queste scuole, poi che in queste parti forse non si trova materiale per farle, e se anche si trovasse ci mancano gli artefici a proposito. Siamo ancor privi di quei libri che sono necessarj alla perfetta cognizione del metodo Lancasteriano, e dei suoi progressi. La Società di Atene è penetrata dalla necessità di un istruzione elementare per i giovani Ateniesi, e si è ben accertata degli vantaggi del detto metodo, quindi tutte quasi le sue cure sono rivolte a maggiormente estenderlo, facilitando anche i mezzi di quelli che non hanno i modi di professare tal metodo.

Su quanto agli affari politici della Grecia, ella ben conobbe che la conoscenza dei dritti e dei doveri dell'uomo erano ben poco conosciuti in Grecia, ma ella conobbe anche la facilità dello spirito Greco ad amigliorarsi. Ed

infatti si osservano rapidi progressi—le vittorie della scorsa estate, e la reazione della nazione contro l'ambizione dei pochi, ma antichi suoi tiranni (parlo de' Primati) de' quali il regno in un batter d'occhio crolò, perchè non era fondato; che sull'ingiustizia di Notarà, Zaimis, Londos, Deligiani, Sessini, Colocotroni, e simili, Corifei di quest' antico edificio, mostra abbastanza l'avanzamento della libertà in queste contrade, e le future speranze. Onde le leggi vanno prendendo vigore: non dico che tutto si è fatto, v'è molto ancora a fare, vi sono degli ostacoli a vincere, e ciò sarà fatto col tempo. La sacra nostra causa, fondata sulla giustizia universale, ed il sentimento di umanità di tutti i popoli civilizzati, fù e sarà, la base ed il primo e più forte difensore dei nostri dritti, ed ecco il fondamento ove abbiamo posto le maggiori nostre speranze, e crediamo non esser traditti. Mi scuserete se avanzo delle cose, che non son forse di proposito, ma come uomo e Greco non posso non sentire ed esprimere questi sentimenti, e specialmente ad una persona, la quale si è resa celebre in Grecia per le sue umane ed eccelenti azioni; e sul quale Atene particolarmente fonda le più grandi speranze.

Sono col più profondo rispetto di V. S.

Démo: servitore,

ANARGIRO PETRAKI.

TRANSLATION.

Athens, 29th Dec. 1824. O. S.

Noble Sir,

I KNOW not whether the numerous letters which I have had the honour to write to you have reached their

désignation. In these I announced to you the arrival of the money which you had kindly presented to the Society and School of Athens. I cannot sufficiently express, either the sentiments of gratitude, which the Athenian people profess towards you, or the utility which has been derived from this assistance. The schools of mutual instruction have attained such vigour, so highly has the Lancasterian System been appreciated by the people of Athens, that the necessary time is wanting to form schools, which may receive the boys who arrive here from all parts. The want of slates and pencils is a great obstacle to the progress of these schools, as in these parts there are, probably, no materials from which to fabricate them, and even if there were, we are destitute of proper workmen. We are also at a loss for those books which are necessary to a perfect knowledge of the Lancasterian System, and of its progress. The Society of Athens is impressed with the necessity of elementary instruction for the Athenian youth, and is well assured of the advantages of this method; consequently almost all its endeavours are directed to extend it yet further by facilitating the means of those who have it not in their power to profess it.

With regard to the political affairs of Greece, you are well aware that the knowledge of the rights and duties of men had made but little progress in Greece, but you also know the facility with which the Greek spirit becomes ameliorated. Rapid advances are in fact observed—the victories of the past summer, and the reaction of the nation against the ambition of their few, but ancient, tyrants (I mean the Primates), whose dominion perished in an instant, because it was only founded in the

injustice of Notarà, Zaimis, Lontos, Deligiani, Sessini, Golocotroni, and the like, the Coryphæi of that ancient edifice, sufficiently demonstrate the advancement of liberty in this country; and give rise to hopes of the future. Hence the laws increase in vigour. I do not say that every thing has been done; there is yet much to do; there are obstacles to overcome, but these will yield to time. Our holy cause, founded in universal justice, and the sentiments of humanity professed by all civilized nations, was and will be the basis, and the first and most powerful protector of our rights. On this foundation we have built our highest hopes, and we trust that we shall not be deceived. You will excuse my mentioning things which are, perhaps, irrelevant, but as a man and a Greek, I cannot help feeling and expressing these sentiments; and more especially to one who has rendered himself celebrated in Greece for his kind and excellent actions, and on whom Athens, in particular, builds the most sanguine hopes.

I am, Sir, with the most profound respect,

Your most devoted Servant,

ANARGIRO PETRAKI,

From Mr. Hodges to Colonel Stanhope.

Smyrna, 3d December, 1824.

Dear Sir,

You will, perhaps, think me neglectful in not writing since the beginning of September, when I addressed you from Missolonghi; but I humbly hope that you will

be satisfied with what is here written in explanation. Mr. Gill joined me in a few days after I had written to you; and as the Florida had arrived at Zante, and we were not favoured with any communication from you or Mr. Bowring, we were quite at a loss to know how to act. At this time Mr. Robinson wrote to me from Zante, informing me that Messrs. Bulmer and Brown were appointed Commissioners for the loan, instead of you and the late Lord Byron; and that they had not only full powers on this subject, but also as agents of the honourable Greek Committee. He added, that they were gone to Napoli di Romania, where they would stay some time, and where I might confer with them. As soon, therefore as my colleague, Mr. Gill, got better of a fever, with which he was attacked only two days after his arrival, we thought it advisable to set off for Napoli. On our arrival at Pyrgos, we could only obtain one horse: this took our luggage, and, as Mr. G. was lame from the bite of musquitos, he rode thereon, and I walked. In the evening we departed, and travelled in the two following days twenty-three hours, in excessive hot weather; Mr. G. now and then walking half an hour, in order that our servant might ride. On the second day's journey we had to cross a river two or three times, and I crossed it without being over my boots; but we at length came to a spot where the river was very rapid, and the water up to the horse's belly: here Mr. G. insisted that I should get up behind him; I did so. We had nearly reached the middle of the river, when the horse fell, and not only gave us a good ducking, but the saddle-bags, with changes, the carpets, rugs, and arms, were all completely drenched,

and it was with difficulty, and the assistance of two peasants, that we saved some of them. The horse, which was carried away by the current, was near being drowned. As our things were all wet alike, we were under the necessity of letting our clothes dry on us; and when we stopped under a tree for the night, we both had a strong fever; fortunately, I got into a profuse perspiration, and, on the following morning, was free of fever: not so poor Gill. We, however, proceeded, and when at Tripolitza, Mr. G. seemed better, and would proceed to Napoli; we arrived there about nine in the morning, and were kept eight hours in the police-yard, before we could obtain a place to put our heads in, and then a sad miserable place was appointed us. By this time, my friend Gill's fever was very high, and he insisted on having twelve leeches applied to his temples and neck, and I went out and got the doctor of the artillery, a German, to come to him; he put a blister on his stomach, and administered some medicine, but I lament to say that poor Gill died the fourth day after our arrival. I had him buried with all possible respect, and immediately after left Napoli in disgust and went to Argos.

It is now necessary for me to inform you that, on our arrival at Napoli, we learnt that Messrs. Bulwer and Brown were both taken sick a day or two after their arrival, and had proceeded in the Florida to Spetzia, but that the Florida, from whence the money had not been yet delivered to the Greek Government, was hourly expected back. The following day, Captain Hodgson came to me at Argos, having previously delivered the money, and got the whole of the necessary documents

signed; he staid a day, and the following Monday I walked with him to Napoli, and from thence took my passage with him to Spetzia. I found Messrs. Bulwer and Brown dangerously ill, but in a day or two something better, and able to confer with me on what was best to be done with the guns, ammunition, and stores, in my charge at Missolonghi; and to save expense of removal, &c. they authorised me to deliver over the whole to Prince Mavrocordato. After staying five days, and rendering these gentlemen all the assistance in my power, I set off for Argos. I have omitted to say that those gentlemen, ill as they were, had determined to proceed to Smyrna, in the Florida; and Mr. Bulwer, who was also short of money, had previously sent off a letter to Mr. Barff, for £500, and for a medical gentleman to be sent from Zante to Spetzia, without regarding expense; after the latter determination, however, he got Captain Hodgson to pen a letter for him to Mr. Barff, requesting Mr. B. to lose no time in transmitting him £300 to Smyrna, urging, at the same time, that if Mr. Barff was not in correspondence with any house at Smyrna, an express messenger might be sent with the money; and in order to prevent the doctor and the £500 from being sent to Spetzia, I was requested to use all possible despatch; the morning, therefore, after my arrival at Argos, I set off for Tripolitza, but not till nine o'clock, as it rained heavily till that time, and it was near nine at night before I reached it. Although I succeeded in getting the gates opened to me, I could get no place to sleep in but over where the horses were put, and having occasion to go down in the night, I fell down a broken ladder, and hurt my side very much, and was obliged

to stay two days; after which I proceeded; and on my arrival at Missolonghi, I lost no time in delivering over the guns and stores as agreed on, having previously given an inventory, and taken a receipt for the whole. I then set off for Zante, and encountered a heavy gale of wind, in which the vessel was nearly lost, and it was the third day before I reached that island. Finding that Mr. Barff was not in communication with any house at Smyrna, and that he knew not whom to trust with the £300, and knowing the extreme urgency of the case, I determined to take it myself, although my side was very bad, and I had an ague every other day. There was no vessel going to Smyrna; Mr. B. therefore, took a passage for me in a small brig to Syra. We had a favourable wind till we nearly reached Milo, when a heavy gale came on, and we were driven to Cerigo, and wind-bound there four days; and it was four days after this, with light variable winds, before I reached Syra. The fourth day after my arrival there, I obtained a passage in a small schooner, and in one day we run from thence to Scio, when a tremendous gale of wind came on, and we were obliged to put into that harbour, and were detained by contrary winds five days; (I saw some shocking scenes whilst here, of Greeks eaten by the dogs.) In two days more I reached this place, and am sorry to say, found both gentlemen still very ill, but much better than they had been; indeed, Mr. Brown had been delirious for fourteen days, and no hopes were entertained of his recovery for a long time: but they are now gaining strength daily, and the physician considers them both out of danger. But it is with the deepest concern I inform you that Captain Hodgson, who treated me like a

brother at Napoli and Spetzia, was dead and buried before my arrival here, after only a few days illness. I have been treated with great kindness by Mr. Werry, the English Consul, (with whom I dined yesterday,) and some other gentlemen, and, not last, Captain Sinclair, who has succeeded Captain Hodgson in the command of the Florida. I have taken my passage to England in a brig called the Shamrock, bound to Liverpool, and expect to sail in about a week; as I do not write to Mrs. Hodges, may I request that you will, sir, condescend to inform her of this, by a line. Be also so kind as to make my sincere respects to Mr. Hume, and tell that gentleman, that in consequence of Mr. Brown's serious illness, it was not till yesterday I received his much esteemed letter and those from my family, sent out by Mr. Brown. It is with the highest gratitude and respect I return thanks to the Honourable Greek Committee for their vote of approbation. By applying leeches, my side is much better, and with bark and brandy I have driven away the ague, and am now, thanks be to God, in good health.

Now for news. Two days previous to my arrival at Napoli, the Captain of the British frigate Sybille had sent a demand to the Government, giving them only six hours to deliberate; his demand not being complied with in that time, the boats were manned, and three Greek vessels taken possession of: two or three Greeks lost their lives. The vessels are carried to Corfu. Whilst I was at Napoli, English newspapers arrived, with extracts of your report. The Government are terribly enraged at it; you are accused of being the greatest enemy Greece has had. I was frequently appealed to for my opinion; I

hesitated not a moment to tell them it was the only true statement I had ever seen written about Greece and Greeks. There were great rejoicings at Napoli for naval victories, but they have not been to the extent stated. At that place there is one regiment of infantry formed with muskets and bayonets, and they are making some progress in discipline, as are the artillery corps at the same place; but the artillery corps at Missolonghi is broken up for want of pay. Nothing has of late been done by land; reports have, however, within these few days, been circulated here that the Greeks had again attacked the Turkish fleet, and taken transports with 4,000 men; but Mr. Werry informs me the only loss the Turks sustained was one transport and 140 men. I have really penned this in extreme haste, as it was only last evening I learnt there was an opportunity to send; I must, therefore, claim your kind indulgence for

Your most respectful and

Obedient humble servant,

J. M. HODGES.

P.S. Three days before I left Missolonghi, an affray took place in the streets, in which three soldiers belonging to Captain Macree were killed. He demanded summary punishment of those concerned; this not being at once complied with, the Prince being at Legovitzza, he took up his position at the mill, at the Olive-grove, and stopped the supplies. He took their arms from two or three of the inhabitants, and bastinadoed them. The sailors were for attacking him, but wanted the Prince's authority; such a state of things

could not last long : I do not, however, know the event. Dr. Millingen was with the army quite well ; Hesketh very ill.

From M. Theotoki, Minister of Justice, to Colonel Stanhope.

Napoli di Romania, li 5 Febbrajo, 1825.

Signore,

NON mi sono preso prima d'oggi l'ardire di scrivervi, temendo d'incomodarvi; or' animato dalle sollecitazioni del stimabile Sig. Masson che infinitamente stimo per i suoi lumi, e per la sua morale, moltissimo amo per il suo attaccamento alla Grecia, mi determinò scrivervi la presente, e per rinovare verso voi la mia ricordanza, e per ripetervi i sentimenti della mia stima.

Domandai con tutto l'interesse di voi signore, e chiesi con grande avidità se il passaggio lunghissimo del mare abbia potuto raffreddare il vostro entusiasmo per la Grecia; veni per il contrario assicurato, che da giorno a giorno, i vostri sentimenti vanno infiammandosi a favore di essa, e che una delle più interessanti vostre occupazioni e la sua felicità; ciò non fa che aumentare il mio attaccamento, e la mia riconoscenza verso voi, e mi fa in pari tempo andare superbo di non avermi ingannato contemplando in voi un vero amico della Grecia, e della politica sua libertà.

Tale conoscendovi, e lusingandomi che pur voi m'abbiate conosciuto qual vero Ellina, ma insieme amico della pura verità, mi accingo darvi un breve, ma inge-

nuo ragguaglio della attuale situazione della Grecia, che giudicandolo degno lo renderebbe estensibile verso gli ingenui suoi amici, e verso quelli che sentono un vero interesse per la medesima.

La Grecia, signore, in quest' anno coronò se medesima, essa trionfò contro il suo oppressore, per mare, e per terra; le forze navali distolsero tutti i piani del suo nemico, non permise ch' egli abbordi in nessun punto della Greca terra, diedero tre segnalate battaglie, incendiarono più navigli di guerra, e più volte li misero in fuga, malgrado tanta disparità di forze, e di numero; di questi loro trionfi, sono stati sempre testimonj oculari navigli di guerra Europei.

Le truppe di terra malgrado colle sei mila potrebbero contarsi nella Grecia Orientale, impedirono tutti i tentativi dei nemici che erano al numero di dieciotto mila, li batterono più volte, li sempre respinsero, e non permisero ai Turchi avanzare di un solo passo.

Se in quell' epoca la differenza dei mezzi non avesse impedito la sortita della flotta Greca più di buon ora, non si avrebbero certamente perdute, ne l' Isola di Casso, ne quella d' Ipsarà, due formidabili antimorali alla flotta nemica, la prima per quella d' Alessandria, la seconda per quella di Costantinopoli, e se ciò non fosse accaduto, la campagna tra le due belligeranti nazioni sarebbe stata ancora più trionfante per i Greci.

Non appena poste le truppe Greche in marcia per riposarsi, non ancora rittirata ne' porti la Greca flotta, che sursero pochi ambiziosi per scomporre la tranquillità pubblica, è visto che i loro discorsi, e le loro fallaci lusinghe, non favano alcun' impressione al popolo, si determinarono prendere le armi in mano con l' oggetto, dall' una,

intimorire il popolo ad attaccarsi ad essi, e con l'altro di sogzionare il governo ad eccedere alle loro domande, tendenti solo ad ademettersi negli affari dello stato, per poter con tale prestigio utilizzare se medesimi a peso della nazione, e portare continui sconvolgimenti.

Il Governo reagì con tutto vigore, chiamò nel Peloponeso tutte le forze del continente, ed unitesi con quelle già attaccate al medesimo, e secondate da tutto il popolo, entrarono con indicibile rapidità nei dipartimenti di Corinto, Vostizza, Calavrita, Gastuni, Caritena, ed Arcadia, debellarono i satrapi di questi; parte d' essi vennero arrestati, come Colocotroni, Notarà, e Deligiani, e gli altri, cioè Zaimi, Londo, Sessimi, e suoi seguaci, vennero obbligati abbandonare non solo la loro sede, ma il Peloponeso; le loro case furono poste alle fiamme, e i loro averi mobili furono preda della soldatesca, e nel giro di quaranta giorni non solo il Peloponeso, e la Grecia tutta si liberò da questi nuovi regoli, ma la tranquillità, e l'ordine fù restituita nella Grecia, ed il Governo riprese più influenza di prima, anzi può dirsi che si consolidò.

Non poteva a mio credere dare pruova più manifesta il popolo Greco di quanto apprezza la sua libertà, di quanto è disposto a voler che il regno solo delle leggi trionfi quanto quella data in questa circostanza, poichè il guereggiare contro il Barbaro Ottomano e dovere, il trionfare su d'esso e il risultato del di lui coraggio, il perseguire i suoi tiranni, è effetto di amore patrio di determinazione a voler vivere liberi, e sotto l' egida delle leggi; tutti dunque conveniranno nel principio, che questo è carattere nazionale, che questa è volontà generale del popolo Greco.

Tranquillizzatosi ora il Governo da questi torbidi, si occupa a punire col rigor delle leggi i anti-costituzionali, e marciare contro il nemico per liberare la Greca terra, già rivoluzionata, e per estendere i confini dello Stato Greco.

Furono prese tutte le necessarie misure per assediare per terra, e per bloccare per mare Patrasso, punto militare importantissimo del pari per i Turchi, come per i Greci; una volta i secondi padroni di Patrasso può chiamarsi il Peloponeso libero, purchè, e le altre due fortezze di Modone, e Corone, caderanno ben presto, e perchè se retarderanno qualche poco nelle mani dei nemici, non portano un grande diserto nel Peloponeso. Quando Patrasso sortirà dalle mani dei Turchi, questi cesseranno necessariamente di tormentare la Grecia Occidentale, perchè cessa in loro la speranza di poter invadere il Peloponeso, non convenendo certamente ad essi il passaggio difficile, e tortuoso dell' istmo, del pari le forze navali devono rinunciare al progetto di fare delle spedizioni marittime per il Peloponeso, quando manca ad essi il punto d' appoggio de Patrasso, e il rifuggio del Golfo di Lepanto, e i prodotti richissimi dei dipartimenti di Corinto, Vostizza, e Gastuni, tutti beguali del mare.

Converrebbe che il Tesoro Nazionale della Grecia fosse più ricco per pensare contemporaneamente alle due importantissime, e vantagiose spedizioni di Negroponte, e di Creta. Per verificar questa conviene che una forza navale poderosa le protega onde non rendere gli abitanti vittima della Mussulmana scure.

Voi, Signore, ben conoscete la Grecia, siete ben informato in quale stato trovansi i suoi naviglj mercantili,

ridotti da guerra, dopo quattro anni di lotta marittima, essi per così dire sono fuori del caso di più guereggiare, gli attracci sono tutti consumati, i naviglj stessi sono indeboliti, e snervati; converebbero, anzi sono indispensibili alla Grecia, poche fregate, non più di sei per ora, onde proteggere questi naviglj, onde divenire semenzajo di altre tante che si potrebbero senza difficoltà predare al nemico, e così successivamente, per costringerlo a non più comparire in mare, e assicurare in tal modo la libertà delle Isole; ed occuparsi allora tutt' attale alle conquiste terestri, che con somma facilità, con poco dispendio, e con incalcolabile utilità si potrebbero verificare.

Mentre a questi grandi, ed importanti progetti militari si occupa la nazione Greca, non neglige il suo Governo quelli del buon ordine interno, e degli utili stabilimenti. Si occupa con tutta sollecitudine a stabilire il potere giudiziario in tutta la Grecia, a bene organizzare la sua finanza, a fare delle buone istituzioni di pubblica istruzione, a dare una qualche regolarità alle sue truppe irregolari, ed a moltiplicare le sue truppe di linea. Tali progetti saranno tanto più rapidamente attirati quanto più ricco sarà il suo erario, e quanti maggiori saranno i mezzi da disporre.

Questo, mio signore, è lo stato attuale della Grecia, questo è quello che come ingenuo patriota vi annunzio, e per la conoscenza personale che avete di me, mi lusingo che presterete tutta la fede, mentre non ho, né lo scopo d'ingannarvi, né quello d'ingannare la mia stessa nazione.

Queste vi saranno da Signori Inglesi amici del vero ratificate, e sono certo con circostanze assai più favore-

voli, eh' io per modestia, e per non essere tacciato di parzialità, ho creduto sepolire nel silenzio.

Io contemplo in voi un vero amico della Grecia; io ho la stima che devesi ai vostri talenti, ai vostri lumi, al vostro zelo, e farei un torto a voi, ed un più gran torto a me, se vi alterassi il vero, massime quando penso che avete calato la Greca terra, che siete entrate in comunicazione con tutti li più distinti personagi della medesima, e con li più pronunziati ma moderati patrioti.

La mia penna è assai inefficace per dipingervi le cose al vivo, per esprimervi quanto la Grecia vi considera attaccato alla sua causa giusta, e quanto ella sia riconoscente; questa stessa penna è del pari debole per testimoniarvi i sentimenti di quella considerazione ch' io nutro per la rispettabile vostra persona, e come particolare, e come amico della mia patria; ma parli per essa il cuore; e siete certo che sarà inalterabile ed eterna la stima con la quale mi do l'onore di proteggermi.

Di voi, nobilissimo signore,

Hmo. devmo. servitore,

GIAMBATTISTA THEOTOKI.

Al nobilissimo Sig. Colonel L. Stanhope, Londra.

TRANSLATION.

Sir,

I HAVE not until now acquired sufficient courage to write to you, fearing to be troublesome; but encouraged by the solicitations of the estimable M. Masson, whom I esteem greatly for his intelligence and for his morality, and

exceedingly love for his attachment to Greece, I have determined to write the present letter, for the double purpose of recalling myself to your remembrance and repeating to you the sentiments of my esteem.

I have asked after you, sir, with much interest, and have inquired if the tedious passage of the sea could have cooled your enthusiasm for Greece; and I have been assured, on the contrary, that your sentiments in her favour have gone on increasing from day to day, and that her felicity is one of your most interesting occupations. This can only augment my attachment and gratitude towards you, and makes me at the same time proud that I have not deceived myself in contemplating in you a true friend of Greece, and of her political liberty.

Knowing you to be such, and flattering myself that you have known me to be a true Hellene, but at the same time a lover of pure truth, I prepare to give you a short, but ingenuous, account of the actual situation of Greece, which, if you think proper, you will show to your friends, and to those who feel a true interest in her cause.

Greece, sir, has this year crowned herself; she has triumphed against her oppressor by sea and by land. The naval forces have disconcerted all the plans of her enemy; they have not permitted him to land on any point of the Grecian coast; have fought three signal battles; have burnt many ships of war, and have many times put him to flight, in spite of the great disparity both of force and numbers;—of these triumphs, European ships of war have always been spectators. The land-troops, notwithstanding that they were able to reckon no more than

six thousand in Eastern Greece, have baffled all the attempts of the enemy, who were eighteen thousand strong; have fought them several times, have always repulsed them, and have never suffered the Turks to advance a single step.

If at this period the want of means had not prevented the sailing of the Greek fleet more early, neither the Island of Casso, nor that of Ipsara, would have been lost; two formidable bulwarks against the enemy's fleets, the one against that of Alexandria, and the other against that of Constantinople; and had those events not occurred, the campaign between the two belligerent nations would have been yet more triumphant for the Greeks.

Scarcely had the Greek troops been put in march to repose themselves, the Greek fleet had not yet returned into port, when a few ambitious leaders rose to disturb the public tranquillity, and seeing that their discourses and their fallacious promises made no impression on the people, they determined to take up arms, with the view, on the one hand, of intimidating the people to attach themselves to them; and, on the other, of compelling the government to accede to their demands, tending solely to their admission into the councils of the state, in order to be able, under this illusion, to profit themselves at the expense of the nation, and to excite continual disturbances.

The Government acted with the greatest vigour, called into the Peloponnesus all the continental troops, and, seconded by the whole population, entered with inconceivable rapidity into the departments of Corinth, Vostitza, Calavrita, Gastouni, Caritena, and Arcadia, and

vanquished their satraps; part of them were arrested, as Colocotroni, Notarà, and Deligiani, and the remainder, that is to say, Zaimis, Londres, Sissini, and their followers, were compelled to abandon, not only their seats, but the Peloponnesus itself—their houses were destroyed by fire, and their moveables given up to the plunder of the soldiery. Thus, in the space of forty days, not only the Peloponnesus and the whole of Greece were freed from these new rulers, but tranquillity and order were re-established, and the Government recovered its former influence; and, in fact, may be said to have consolidated itself.

The Greek people could not, in my opinion, give a more manifest proof how much it prizes liberty, how well disposed it is to wish that the rule of the laws alone should triumph, than that which it gave on this occasion; since to fight against the barbarous Ottoman being a duty, to triumph over him is the result of courage alone, but to pursue its tyrants is the effect of love of country, of a determination to live free and under the ægis of the laws; every body, then, will agree in the principle, that this is the national character, the general wish of the Greek people.

The Government being now freed from these disturbers, is occupied with punishing, with the rigour of the laws, all the anti-constitutionalists, and with marching against the enemy, to free the Grecian soil already revolutionized, and to extend the boundaries of the Grecian state. All the necessary steps have been taken to besiege by land, and to blockade by sea, Patras, the most important point to the Turks as well as to the Greeks. Patras once in the hands of the latter, the Peloponnesus may

be considered free, because the other two fortresses, Modon and Coron, will quickly fall, and because even should they remain some little time in the hands of the enemy, they cannot do much mischief to the Peloponnesus. When Patras shall be rescued from the Turks, the latter will necessarily cease to disturb Western Greece, because in it will cease their hopes of being able to invade the Peloponnesus, the difficult and tortuous passage of the isthmus being certainly out of their power; while their naval forces must renounce the project of making maritime expeditions against the Peloponnesus when they lose the *point d'appui* of Patras and the refuge of the Gulf of Lepanto, together with the rich products of the departments of Corinth, Vostitza, and Gastouni, all exposed by sea.

It would be necessary that the Greek Treasury should be more rich, to enable us to think contemporaneously of the two most important and advantageous expeditions to Negropont and Crete. To maintain these a powerful naval force would be necessary to protect the inhabitants from becoming the victims of the Mussulman cimiters.

You, sir, are well acquainted with Greece; you are well aware of the state of her mercantile vessels; reduced by the chances of war, after four years of maritime struggle, they are, it may be said, incapable of further warfare; all the riggings are consumed; the ships themselves are weakened and worn out. A few frigates would be of service, and are, in fact, indispensably necessary to Greece; six would be sufficient for the present, to protect those vessels, to become a nursery for as many more, which might, without difficulty, be taken from the enemy, and so on successively, to compel him

to appear no more upon the sea, and to secure by that means the liberty of the Islands. Then we might occupy ourselves throughout the summer in land conquests, which might be made with the greatest facility, with little expense and with incalculable utility.

While the Greek nation is occupied with these great and important military projects, its Government is not negligent of internal good order, and of useful establishments. It is occupied with great solicitude in establishing the judicial power through the whole of Greece, in well organizing its finances, in forming good institutions for public instruction, in giving a certain regularity to its irregular troops, and in augmenting its troops of the line. These projects will be completed with the greater rapidity, in proportion to the richness of its treasury, and to the means which may be at its disposal.

This, sir, is the actual state of Greece, which I announce to you as an ingenuous patriot; and from the personal knowledge which you possess of me, I flatter myself that you will give it entire credence, considering that I have neither the intention to deceive you, nor to deceive my own nation. This will be ratified to you by English gentlemen, friends of truth, and I am convinced, with circumstances yet more favourable, which through modesty, and that I may not be tasked with partiality, I have buried in silence.

I contemplate in you a true friend of Greece; I have a due esteem for your talents, for your intelligence, and for your zeal; and I should be doing injustice to you, and a greater injustice to myself, were I to contradict the truth; more especially when I consider that you have

trod the soil of Greece, that you have entered into communication with all her most distinguished personages, and with her most devoted, but moderate patriots. My pen is quite incapable of painting things to the life, of expressing how much Greece considers you attached to her just cause, and how grateful she feels. The same pen is equally unable to testify to you the sentiments of consideration which I cherish for your respected person, both as an individual and as a friend of my country; but my heart speaks for it, and be assured of the unalterable and eternal esteem with which I have the honour to protest myself,

Noble Sir,

Your most devoted humble Servant,

GIAMBATTISTA THROTOKY.

Napoli di Romania, February 5, 1825.

From Colonel Stanhope to John Bowring, Esq.

London, 27th April, 1825.

Dear Bowring,

PRAY acquaint the Committee that I have been invited by the Duke de Dalberg to attend a meeting of the Greek Committee at Paris. The assembly was held at M. Ternaux's hotel, and consisted of some of the leading statesmen and soldiers of France.

The business commenced by the perusal of intelligence received from various quarters. The president stated that a work containing the system of mutual instruction

had been translated into modern Greek, and should be forthwith forwarded to the Peloponnesus. A discussion then took place relative to the French officers serving in Egypt. It appears that Mahomed Ali represented to the French Government that he required one general and 60 officers to discipline his troops, and that Germans had offered their services, but had been by him rejected. French officers accordingly went out to Alexandria, with the knowledge, if not under the sanction, of their Government. The Committee, however, to thwart their purpose, resolved that some of the most influential of these officers should be informed how contrary it was to the honour and fame of Frenchmen to bear arms against Greeks and Christians struggling for their lives and freedom; and that such conduct could not fail to cover them with shame in their own country. The policy pursued by the French Government is secretly to aid the Egyptians, Greeks, and Turks, so that she may possess influence with whatever government may prevail.

Gen. Sebastiani next read a most able military report; and it was agreed, that certain scientific officers, and a laboratory establishment, should be forthwith sent to Greece.

The business of the day having terminated, I was requested to represent to the Committee in London what I had heard, and to state how anxious the French Committee was to co-operate with it in furtherance of the Greek cause. I promised to obey their commands.

You will not doubt that the formation of a Greek Committee, composed of some of the most eminent men in France, such as the Dukes of Larochevoucault, Choiseul, and de Dalberg, the Count Chateaubriand, Generals

Sebastiani, Foy, &c. and backed by public opinion, is of vast importance. You well know that all the nations of Europe speak their language, are acquainted with their literature, read their journals, and travel in their country : it is the example of France that chiefly operates on their conduct. Consequently, the good that the Paris Committee may effect in behalf of the Greeks is great. With such means, and by publicity, it may excite all nations in their favour, and check the hostile spirit of their governments.

On these grounds, it is to be regretted that the Greek Republic did not contract a loan in France, for that would have been the most powerful of bonds. The offer was, in fact, the more honourable to the French nation, since it was no commercial speculation, but, I may almost say, a magnanimous gift tendered by individuals.

You will be happy to learn, that the French Committee have sent an agent to Greece. Gen. Sebastiani told me, that he had been instructed to place himself in friendly intercourse with the British agent, and that there should be no rivalry between them but in promoting the public good. This sentiment was worthy of a lofty-minded Frenchman. Let us hope soon to hear that France and England, casting aside their ancient, but base prejudices, may frame a similar compact. A " Sainte Alliance " may then be formed in favour of morality. We shall see whether the legions of France and the fleets of England, co-operating with the enlightened brave-throughout Europe, are destined to fall ; whether the subject many are doomed to bear on their minds and bodies the chains of barbarians ; and whether, again, Providence, which has given men strength, has not also

given them reason, which, when cultivated, ensures their supremacy.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

From Captain Humphreys to Colonel Stanhope.

From Gastouni, via Zante, May 1st, 1825.

My dear Sir,

THE interruption of our correspondence in Greece has quite given me a distaste to writing, and more particularly as hitherto I could have given no favourable intelligence from a country for which I know you feel so strong an interest. But it is not from the Greeks themselves that their most disinterested friend must look for approval or for thanks. They are not yet enlightened.

The period since your departure to the opening of the present campaign has been chiefly devoted, to civil dissensions. It appears the policy of those in power to aggrandize one captain on the fall of another, who in his turn proves equally rebellious, and then there is the same work to be done again; it is like cutting off the ever-renewing heads of the fabulous hydra. Zaimis and Londos, formerly the great government champions, now figure as the chief rebel leaders. They have been once driven from the Morea, but are now returned, and are levying troops at Lalla; they profess to have no hostile intentions against the Government, and only to operate in the common cause against the Turks. Coloco-

troni, Deligiani, Notara and his son, my friend Sissini and his son, are state-prisoners at Hydra. They have demanded either a trial or a release, that they may act against the Turks also; nothing is known as to the intentions of the Government towards them. Orders have been sent to the captains and authorities to apprehend Zaimis and Londos, but none have either the power or inclination to prolong a civil war at a time when we are so hotly attacked by external foes. The peasantry are loud in their demands for the release of Colocotroni and their other governors. Goura was selected to ravage the Morea, which, with Sardanopulos, as his chief myrmidon, he most ably performed. Ulysses, after having been shot at at Napoli, refused any supplies or pay from the Government, and being supplanted by Goura at Athens, has been treating with the Turks. It is long since I have received any sure communication from that quarter, but I believe he now holds both Turk and Greek at bay in his mountain-fortress at Parnassus. Mahomed Ali has twice landed troops at Modon and Coron, and has provisioned Patras. He has about 10,000 regulars, who have laid siege to Navarin, where there has been some hard fighting; the Greek soldiers have behaved with great bravery and spirit, but, unfortunately, the captains are all at variance, and none will acknowledge a superior, as all the tried and known captains, who possessed the confidence of their men, are now supplanted. On the Romeliot side, the Turks have already advanced and ravaged the country as far as Anatolico, where an engagement took place about ten days ago, and they have been repulsed: but report speaks them very strong, and that only an advanced body has yet

arrived; that they are well supplied with artillery, engineers, &c. and purpose to besiege Missolonghi. I had received orders to join the camp at Patras, which place it was intended to have besieged, but we now expect orders to march into Romelia. I am now with the Suliots, with a gang of fifty men whom the Government have accorded me, though they consider me a rebel. Mavrocordato is now in his proper avocation, Secretary of State, but only perforce; for, incapable of bold enterprize and daring, and almost universally disliked, he is not likely to rise higher. One lamentable event that the civil war has produced, is a mortal hatred between the Moriots and Romeliots, who are chiefly in the Government service. The loan has hitherto been productive of much harm and little good: * the Greek fleet would have gone out, whether they were paid or not. By land, the last campaign, there was hardly any thing attempted on the part of the enemy, and yet it is already nearly exhausted without any improvement in the internal state of the country. Sr. Constantino Metaxa is Commissary-general, and had established a very well conducted commissariat at the Patras camp, but which is now breaking up. Negriz, you must have heard, is dead, as is also poor Marius; he was badly viewed at Napoli, as being a friend to *our* faction, as they choose to designate it. Trelawny is commandant of Ulysses' fortress, and is to marry his sister. Millingen is still in Greece; the rest of the English who were here with you

* This I predicted would be the case, unless the loan was placed under the control of a strong and firm-minded commissioner.—L. S.

have either left the country or have mingled their dust with this classic soil.

We hear the Turks have again landed at Modon and Coron, so we shall be driven to the mountains.

Yours, very sincerely,

N. W. HUMPHREYS.

From William Thornton, Esq. to John Bowring, Esq.

City of Washington, July 4, 1824.

Sir,

I CANNOT dedicate this day to a nobler use than to the acknowledgement of your very polite letter, written at the instance, and as the Honorary Secretary, of the Greek Committee of London, to whom I am under the highest obligation for the very distinguished honour they have conferred on me, by directing the various reports, accounts and addresses relative to, and on account of, the brave Greeks, to be transmitted to me, for which very interesting documents I request you to offer to that honourable body my most grateful acknowledgements; and I beg you, sir, to be pleased also to accept my particular thanks for the very polite manner in which you have done me the honour of communicating their favour.

When I read the names of the Members of the Committee, I wonder not at the noble sentiments that govern their conduct; for it is a constellation of the most distinguished gentlemen of talents, of knowledge, of learning, of honour, and magnanimity. It amazes me more that the exalted character of this Committee has not only

set all England, but the rest of mankind in a blaze of virtuous emulation, in favour of the glorious cause which they have espoused. For this is no common cause : it is the cause of oppressed virtue struggling against the most dire oppression. It is the cause, not merely of the Cross against the Crescent, but of humanity against the most brutal and barbarous of the human race ; and not only to protect the innocent, but to restore that country to its rightful owners, to which all mankind are indebted for the sciences, for learning, for the polite as well as useful arts, for the first principles of virtue and of good government. To the Greeks mankind are under obligations that can never be repaid ; and may the remembrance of these obligations never be effaced ! Why, then, leave them to struggle against forces that would have appalled and overwhelmed any but the most determined, who had resolved to conquer or to perish ? It is well for the family of man that England was not crushed, when all the giant powers of earth were combined against the sea-girt Isle ; for to England we are indebted for our constitution : our executive power is in the hand of an individual ; we have a Senate and a House of Delegates, answering to your King, Lords, and Commons ; and yet Greece gave the world the origin of these divisions of power. The South Americans have followed our example. The government planted by the English in the East Indies, the great continental island of New Holland, the beautiful isle of Van Diemen, the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, will all, in a few years, when enjoying good governments, and worshipping under the Christian creed, gratefully acknowledge their origin from England. These, as well as North America, will all speak the

same language, and, enjoying happiness, they will teach the nations with which they may be connected every good principle derived from the same source. So extensive a fraternity must finally influence the whole human race ; for good principles will always govern when the powerful effects of such principles shall be experienced.

We are aware that the Holy Alliance, a title that the combined despots have been pleased to assume, are jealous of the diffusion of republican principles ; but if we inquire into the origin of those general associations, by which men are induced to adopt rules of self-control for the general good, that individual happiness may be secured, we shall find that no government approaches towards perfection which is not subject to those restraints that the majority of the combined people judge necessary ; and a limited monarchy, therefore, produces more happiness than unlimited or arbitrary power. The more happiness a government produces, the stronger it becomes, because every individual feels attached to the governing power ; and the English government, by the freedom of its principles, has produced more happiness in the people, and, consequently, has enjoyed more power than any monarchy in the world. But as this world, trivial in comparison to many planets, which revolve round the same centre, is merely a temporary place of probation, the great master spirits, which are directed by Infinite Wisdom to operate on the mass of mortals, must consider by what mode the utmost good can be produced ; and in this consideration, an emperor or a king who should attempt to run counter to the great principles of moral and political regeneration and happiness, should be

considered merely as a powerful mortal, capable of involving many of his fellow-men in ruin and misery, and to such a being no dutiful regard or respect is due. If, therefore, the despots of Europe combine against the general happiness of nations, seeking rather, as recently has been done in Spain, to subject the people to the arbitrary dictates of despotism, than to permit them to meliorate their conditions by such equality of law that the strong or powerful cannot oppress the weak, it is high time that the general voice of the oppressed be heard, and that the virtuous combine against the oppressors of the human race. This combination requires a calm, prudent, systematic, but determined opposition to whatever may tend to check the progress of human improvement; for it is not sufficient that a nation should, when happy herself in political security, look on with cold, calculating indifference and apathy, witnessing the miseries or destruction of another nation; an interference is as necessary among nations in such a case, as the cause of an oppressed individual would be in a well-regulated society; and the law of nations can only be established by the observance of general maxims among nations, or by the adoption of certain rules in general convention, which it behoves the enlightened of mankind to urge. When, therefore, a nation transgresses the general laws of common humanity, such a nation calls for the vengeance of combined man, and so dreadful an example should be made as would deter from similar aggressions the most abandoned, till the end of time! Why, then, should the sons of St. George hesitate for a moment in the cause of Greece? It is in the power of England to place them at once in the city of

Constantine. This would, however, excite the vengeance of Russia, whose monarch has long desired that seat of the Ottoman power. You can, however, prescribe such extensive limits to the Greek confederacy, as may render them invincible, and by degrees they may extend their power. They will then, as an ally to England, be a check not only to the fleets that may be established on the Black Sea, but to the armies of the Czar.

If the *Holy* Alliance should enter into a confederacy in favour of Ferdinand, and attempt the restoration of South America to that monarch, it would be entirely in vain, even if the South Americans be unaided; for what are the forces that the whole could bring against that numerous people, compared to the well-equipped armies of England against North America? besides, the climate alone would operate the destruction of European assailants: but if South America should be molested, we are completely pledged in their defence; and the deep interest of England in North and South America would induce a co-operation, which would end in that natural alliance between England and this extensive continent that sound policy dictates.

Greece and the Archipelago, while held by the Turks, have been as completely lost to the world as South America, while under the dominion of Spain. The liberal and enlightened policy by which they will hereafter be governed, will offer to the world a participation of those benefits with which the beneficent Creator has blessed the fertile lands and isles of Greece, as well as the luxuriant and extensive regions of South America. It is not only the true policy of England to support

North and South America against all aggressions, but also to liberate and support Greece and Egypt: for the silks, the fruits, wines, oil, and other productions of Greece, will offer great advantages to England in trade for her productions; and the sugar, the fine cotton, indigo, and rice of Egypt, now raised by its enterprising Bey, who is anxious to be independent, will aid the exports of England, and these, carried up the Nile, will bring down the gold-dust, ivory, gums, &c. of the interior of Africa. Thus, while England will be giving all the lights of science and religion to the dark regions where oppression has blotted out every trace of former refinement and learning, she will be extending her commerce, strengthening her power, and raising monuments of glory by these benefits, that will elevate her still higher in the general estimation of the human race, and render her acceptable, at the last day, to the Eternal Being who rewards the good with unspeakable felicity. So interesting are these subjects to the common philanthropist, that it is difficult to arrest the pen, especially when they embrace the Grecian theme. You have seen the speeches of some of our orators in Congress, and may judge of the feelings of a nation, who glory not only in the progress of these noble and brave warriors, but who are deeply interested in every thing that appertains to the advancement of their happiness as a nation.

Subscriptions have been opened in various parts of the country, and the people have, in every instance, shown an anxious desire to aid the sacred cause, in which the Greeks have so nobly and so successfully engaged. I have collected a few of the addresses, some

of which were sent to me, and others I have cut from different papers, and put them together. Though the general subscription has not been as great as was expected, owing to the universal want of a circulating medium, the publications will show that the people are sincere in their wishes, and their offerings will be received as the widow's mite. I had prepared a book, neatly bound, to be deposited in the Archives of Congress, containing the names of the Officers of Government, and others, whose subscriptions I expected; but was advised to defer this for some time: for our Government, having expressed a determination to consider any attack on this side of the Atlantic as an aggression on us, have thought it proper to abstain, as much as possible, from even an exhibition of their feelings; for they are unwilling to give offence to the European powers, or any cause for suspecting that they would aid in the emancipation of Greece.

The Colombians, by the late papers and letters, seem determined to be prepared for defence, for by a law passed on the 6th of May last, they authorized the Executive to raise an army of fifty thousand men, independent of the troops in actual service, under an impression, expressly stated in the preamble, that the European Cabinets, by the name of the Holy Alliance, had proscribed the independence, free institutions, and governments of the nations of the New World.

Since writing the above, I have seen extracts from the Russian Memorial on the PACIFICATION of Greece: but such a weak and contemptible proposal has seldom met the public eye. It would again subject Greece to the power of Turkey, divided, humbled, tributary, at

the time that it is supposed the fourth campaign will not be more favourable to the Turks than the three first. If the fourth campaign be successful, of which I cannot entertain a doubt, the Greeks having now a well-appointed army, with experienced officers; the soldiers, too, accustomed to victory after victory, when comparatively weak, divided, and inefficient, they may demand their own reasonable limits, on their own terms; or, if supported by the loans, which they may obtain from England, and by the establishment of a national bank in Greece, dependent on the acquired national lands, which, in the hands of any but Turks, will become very valuable; they may raise an army that, with their experience, with their activity and enterprise, in a country full of defiles and natural defences, and especially with the co-operation of their fleet, may defy the power of any assailants or combinations, holy or unholy. However, the immediate and efficient interference of England, in favour of the Greeks, appears now more necessary than ever; for the British minister, Lord Strangford, having, by his negotiation between the Porte and Russia, obtained satisfactory concessions for the latter, relative to Moldavia and Walachia, has, of course, let loose two other hordes of savage Turks, who may be led against the Greeks; but I cherish a hope that the Premier of England, who has a good head and a bold heart, in permitting the minister of so great a people to become the active instrument of pacification between the Russians and Turks, has obtained from the Emperor of Russia a stipulation to remain neuter in this struggle: and that this futile proposal of terms of pacification by Russia, between the Porte and

Greece, may be meant merely as a specious act of friendship to the Porte for its late concessions. The Czar cannot be seriously inclined to urge what he has proposed, unless, indeed, the late successful interferences in the two Peninsulas have given such a daring front to the monarchical menaces against reformation, that these selfish allies are determined to consider the efforts of Greece as a revolutionary movement against legitimacy! It would truly be the height of imbecility in the Greeks to agree to any terms whatever that did not include complete and unconditional independence. They are becoming daily more powerful, and the Turks more weak: besides, every Greek is fighting with an ardour not merely enkindled by the spirit of revenge for past injuries, but, inspired by the love of country, of kindred, of parental and filial affection, he burns with a desire of signalizing himself in the noblest of causes, and with the prospect of enjoying independence and happiness in his success.

We have seen an account of, and very deeply lament the death of Lord Byron. The world has lost one of the greatest poets, and Greece one of its most ardent and generous friends. That nation has exhibited on his death a sensibility and an affectionate remembrance of his many favours that tend still more to endear the nation to every man of feeling. I hope that many of the aspiring sons of Apollo and of Mars will dedicate their faculties to that nation which gave birth to so many men of virtue, of genius, of talents, and of valour.

I have thought much of the advantages that would result from an alteration of the alphabet of Greece;

and I find it can so easily be adapted to the Roman alphabet, with some new letters that the Roman does not possess, that it would facilitate much the intercourse of Greece with the rest of Europe and with America. If a synod of grammarians were to agree to form, for all the nations of the world, a universal alphabet, it would not contain more than about forty letters; then correct the orthography of each language, and they would be as easily learnt in the closet as in the countries where they are spoken. I wrote on that subject above thirty years ago: you will find in the third volume of the Philosophical Transactions of Philadelphia a piece of mine on the subject, entitled CADMUS.

If all the coins, weights, and measures were to be regulated by an adopted standard, it would so facilitate commerce as to be universally beneficial. Though the regulation of these objects may appear difficult, I know that a few individuals, if duly authorized, could completely effect the whole in a very short time; and they are certainly worthy of consideration.

You will excuse the freedom with which I have expressed my ideas; for having been accustomed to consider the affairs of mankind with a view to general rather than partial good, I cannot restrain my mind to those narrow limits of human policy, that would abstractedly consider the tendency of political measures in relation to a single nation or people: and viewing mankind as of one family, I deem the mind of the statesman most miserably contracted who would confine his political views to the aggrandisement merely of his own nation. Were the Turk to inquire why my maxims of benevolence should not extend to them, I am ready to

answer, that the scenes of Scio and of Constantinople
call for the vengeance not only of man, but the casti-
gations of the Most High!

I am, Sir,
With the highest respect and consideration,
Yours, &c.
WILLIAM THORNTON.

John Bowring, Esq.
Honorary Secretary of the Greek Committee,
London.

REMINISCENCES OF LORD BYRON.

REMINISCENCES

OF

LORD BYRON.

Extracts of Letters from a Friend.

Zante, December, 1824.

Dear Stanhope,

ON my first introduction to this distinguished and extraordinary nobleman, I was particularly struck by his extremely elegant, insinuating, and affable manner ; so much the reverse of what I had anticipated, by trusting to public report, which represented him as morose, sullen, and almost a cynic. Lord Byron, upon our voyage to Cephalaria, spoke much of Greece, and his having been forced to go thither sooner than he wished, from the publication of his letter to the Greek Committee, and some occurrences of a private nature at Genoa. He always spoke with much modesty of the services which he could render to the cause of Greece, and ridiculed, rather in strong terms, the bombast and figure made by * * * in Spain.

His Lordship stated that he had about £6000 on board, and letters of credit to the amount of 90,000 dollars upon the Ionian Islands, besides an additional

credit upon Malta. He expressed the intention of dedicating from £3000 to £5000 per annum of his income, accordingly as he could spare it, to the promotion of Greek independence. He was exceedingly irritated by the conduct of the Greeks at Leghorn, who certainly furnished him useless or stale information in abundance, but always ended by applications for money. His Lordship's answer was, that they ought to be in their country during the hour of danger, from whence they had fled, and not subsisting by precarious charity in a foreign land. During the voyage his Lordship was attentively occupied in reading and making notes upon Swift's works; for what object he did not mention.

At dinner, and for a while afterwards, until drowsiness came on and compelled him to retire to his siesta, he always read a work on South America, by a Colonel Hippesley. In it that individual describes, in the most pathetic language of woe, his being unable to get any good port wine, or tolerable living, in that inhospitable country. Lord Byron recommended this work to every one as an excellent soporific, and blessed the author for the many comfortable naps he had procured him. His Lordship dined by himself, early, at about twelve o'clock, and his dinner generally consisted of fresh vegetables only, as long as they lasted, and an immense quantity of red pickled cabbage, after which he ate a great deal of cheese; during dinner he drank cider, afterwards generally ale and hock. A more unwholesome manner of living, in my opinion, in the Mediterranean, and in the month of July, could scarcely have been adopted. Our Captain was a famous drinker of

grog, beginning generally at eleven o'clock, and keeping it up every hour until he turned into his berth. Lord Byron would good-humouredly join him occasionally, and was much delighted when he could engage him in conversation. Captain Scott was then exceedingly blunt, and used to give Lord Byron advice, counselling him to engage the *Hercules* to carry him to England, and not go amongst the Greeks with so much good money, who would only cut his throat for it. Scott used generally to end with—"Why, my Lord, with your fortune and fame, you ought to be sitting in the House of Lords, and defending the right side of the question, as your friends Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett are in the Commons, instead of roaming over the world." On the Suliots coming on board, in Cephalonia harbour, Scott was most indignant, and said that, were it not out of respect for his Lordship, he would not have allowed one of them to enter his vessel. He said that he was astonished that his Lordship could have any communication with the *zouliacs*, as he called them, those murderous-looking villains in sheep-skins.*

Lord Byron affected to believe that there was no true friendship in the world. This was merely affectation, as I have seen him, on several occasions, defend, with the greatest warmth, Mr. Hobhouse, and express how deeply he felt the many obligations which he had conferred upon him. He used frequently to speak of his wife and daughter; he expressed the

* The shaggy capots worn by the Greeks have much the appearance of sheep-skins.

strongest affection for the latter, and said that he could have lived happy with the former, had circumstances permitted it. On the cause of their disunion he never dilated much, but seemed to throw a great share of blame on her mother and governess. He mentioned that he had made a bequest of all his personal property to his sister's family, conceiving that his daughter was already amply provided for.

His Lordship was keenly sensitive at the recital of any case of distress, in the first instance; and advantage being taken of this feeling immediately, he would always relieve it when in his power. If this passion, however, was allowed to cool, he was no longer to be excited. This was a fault of Lord Byron's, as he frequently offered, upon the impulse of the moment, assistance which he would not afterwards give, and thereby occasionally compromised his friends.

He was, or affected to be, exceedingly superstitious, expressing his belief in the common superstitions of the Levant; in the unluckiness of spilling oil, and the good fortune attendant upon the overturning of wine.

During the voyage, he frequently sat up all night, admiring the serenity of the heavens, and tracing in the clouds various resemblances to the human countenance, animals, &c. His Lordship, in the midst of the greatest mirth and jollity, used frequently to have his eyes suddenly suffused with tears,* arising, I have no doubt,

* I have often observed Lord Byron, in the midst of a humorous conversation, to pause, meditate, and his eyes become suffused with tears.—L. S.

from some painful recollections. On these occasions he used always to rise, and retire to the privacy of his own cabin. In my opinion, his poetry was completely of an inspired character, and he could only write when the fit was upon him. Several subjects were given to him on board by Trelawny, and the verses so produced were miserable, and in no wise worthy of Byron. He had no copy of his own works with him, and used often to say that he believed we on board knew more of them than himself. I several times ventured to ask his Lordship whether he had ever thought of writing an epic poem. His answer was, that he would never attempt any thing which approached it nearer than *Don Juan*. All great subjects, he added, are exhausted; and, in our days, even the most celebrated epics are never read. He said that he would continue *Don Juan* to one hundred and fifty cantos, if the public would have patience; and, as far as I understood him, twenty-two cantos were ready for the press.

His Lordship seemed to speak with more unqualified admiration and friendship of Sir Walter Scott than of any of his literary contemporaries. He was full of praise of *Waverley*, and other novels, and had read them with great attention, as he was continually quoting whole passages from them. He said that he was convinced that Scott was their author, in consequence of what he himself had observed. Being in the back shop of Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-street, in company with several other individuals, the conversation turned upon the first of the new novels, and one of the group observed that it was a pity but a writer who displayed so much knowledge of character would write some historical

novels. Sir Walter Scott, who was sitting reading at a table, started up, and said, "D—n it, I could do that;" and then, as if conscious of imprudence, sided off, took up his hat, and left the room. Lord Byron astonished me by mentioning the very small pecuniary advantage he had derived from the sale of his works,—not more, I think, than £16,000 in all, whereas his booksellers must have cleared fortunes by them.

✓ He frequently said that his life began to be tedious to him, that he had enjoyed all that was worth enjoying, and that no man ought to live after thirty, when enjoyment ceases. He used frequently to speak in the strongest terms of regard of the late Mr. Sheridan, who was one of his oldest acquaintance, and also in warm admiration of Moore, Campbell, and Falconer.

Lord Byron was, at first, rather prejudiced against Colonel Napier, not liking the open, blunt manner in which that distinguished officer gave his opinions. He, however, upon a longer acquaintance with him, did ample justice to his merits, and frequently spoke of him in warm terms.*

✓ Lord Byron seemed excessively unwilling to depart from Metaxata for Greece; he feared to compromise himself by lending his money or influence to any particular party; and, I believe, he was finally induced to proceed to Missolonghi more by the urgent entreaties of the Greek Committee requesting him to go thither, and

* Colonel Napier, by his justice, his industry, his improvements, and his attachment to the Greek cause, has, at least, supported the dignity of the British name in the Ionian Islands. The army cannot boast a better soldier or a more loyal citizen.—L. S.

by your own departure and representations, than from any other cause. His object, at Cephalonia at least, seemed to be to connect himself with the Central Government of Greece, if possible; and I am not surprised at the tenacity he showed about granting money to the Greeks, as he, no doubt, anticipated its being squandered away without any good effect. Certainly no one, at that period, should have advanced money without himself superintending its expenditure. Lord Byron, I have every reason to believe, never anticipated the Greeks obtaining a loan of above £100,000, or £150,000, and he must have been very much surprised upon learning that a loan for £800,000 had been contracted for.

His Lordship was very much talked of in Greece, on account of many of the leaders recollecting him upon his visit to that country, but principally on account of the treasure of which he was supposed to be the bearer, a most exaggerated statement of which had been transmitted from Cephalonia, and appeared to be credited by the chief members of the Government, viz.—30,000,000 piastres.

I saw the widow of one of his Lordship's Greek servants at Athens; her husband had recently died of fatigue, and had been one of the most celebrated captains. Lord Byron was quite astonished to hear of this circumstance, as the man in question, whilst in his service, had shown no symptoms of valour, but rather the reverse. "Courage will come and go."

Lord Byron had a marked predilection in favour of the Albanians and Suliots, in consequence of the affection shown towards him, in illness, by two of the former,

on his first visit to Greece, and his either having been assisted after, or saved from, shipwreck, by some of the latter. This induced him to take those whom he found at Cephalonia into pay, although their demands, and the constant altercations which they gave rise to, might have convinced him of their want of patriotism, and that they were only endeavouring to extort what money they could from him, whereas, afterwards, at Missolonghi, where justice was not so well administered as at Cephalonia, and, consequently, they would be under less restraint, they might prove exceedingly troublesome to him. Indeed, a great number of these fellows were mere Italian and French adventurers, deserters, generally, from the regiment of De Roll, and who, on Ali Pacha's downfall, connected themselves with the Sulists, and capitulated with them, upon our resident in Albania guaranteeing the stipulations of surrender.

Lord Byron used frequently to say that, individually, he preferred the Turks to the Greeks; he particularly admired the straight-forward and open behaviour of the former, and their indifference to life. Lord Byron was a man who, from the ardent nature of his disposition, always acting upon the spur of the moment, would, most probably, have tired of the Greek cause,* where so many jealousies and dissensions exist; besides, he was a great admirer of truth, and would have been disgusted with their shuffling, and disregard to promises.

* Yes, he would have tired, but never have abandoned the cause. Lord Byron's was a versatile and still a stubborn mind; it wavered, but always returned to certain fixed principles.—L. S.

He was excessively cool in danger, to two instances of which I was witness.

A Greek, named Costantino Zalichi, to whom his Lordship had granted a passage, took up one of Manton's pistols, one day, when it accidentally went off, and the ball passed close to Lord Byron's temple. Instead of being at all disconcerted, he only showed the Greek how such accidents might be avoided, by attending to the check-lock of the pistol.

On another occasion, off the Roman coast, we observed a suspicious-looking lugger, armed, and apparently full of men. This was at the close of the last Spanish war, when many acts of piracy had been committed in the Mediterranean, and our captain was much alarmed. We were dogged all day by this vessel, and in the evening got clear for action, as we had no doubt that we should be attacked. A breeze sprung up, however, and darkness ensued. We then saw no more of her; but Lord Byron, during the bustle, was perfectly calm, and gave his orders in the most cool and collected manner.

His Lordship expressed a contempt for all political parties, but was himself imbued with strong aristocratic notions of birth, and frequently, with reason too, boasted of the deeds of his illustrious ancestors, and of his name. Lord Byron, if ever, indeed, he really felt a bad opinion of his countrymen, openly professed contrary sentiments at Cephalonia. He spoke highly of the conduct of Mr. Samuel Barff, of Zante, who, without any letter of credit or introduction, after the positive refusal of the Greek merchants, upon whom he had

credits, to negotiate his bills, had handsomely come forward and done so on the most liberal terms.*

Extracts of Letters from Mr. George Finlay to Colonel Stanhope.

My dear Stanhope,

At your request I subjoin some recollections of the hours I have passed with Lord Byron. Much as I have cherished their memory, I cannot pretend to give his words with perfect accuracy. Any information of importance I received from him, particularly on the state of Greece and Italy, I committed to paper at the time; but these notes comprised facts, and not opinions, and they contain nothing which would be new or interesting to you. During his life-time I never noted down any of his private conversations; without his permission, I should have considered it an unauthorized liberty. Since his death, however, I have felt a deep anxiety to collect even the slightest trace of the character and opinions of such a man; and during the time I have lately passed at Dystomo, Argos, and Tripolitza, the melancholy task of collecting these memorandums was added to my other not very agreeable occupations.

I am afraid you will consider what I send not very interesting, yet, on taking up my pen, it interests me so

* Mr. Barff is a most honest merchant, and has been of great service to the Greek cause.—L. S.

strongly, that not only the words of Lord Byron, but his tone of voice, his manner, the room or the ride in which the conversation occurred, return to my mind with a distinctness which seems to authorize my placing some reliance on my memory.

I met Lord B. for the first time at Metaxata, in Cephalonia, in the month of October, 1823. On calling, I found his Lordship had ridden out with Count Gamba; I resolved to wait for his return, and was shown his only public room, which was small, and scantily furnished in the plainest manner. One table was covered for dinner, another and a chair were strewn with books, and many were ranged in order on the floor. I found the greater part of Walter Scott's novels, Mitford's History of Greece, Sismondi's Italian Republics, and an English translation of Pausanias. After some time, his Lordship returned, and on entering the room, regarded me with a fixed, and it appeared to me, an anxious stare. I presented a letter of introduction, and he sat down upon the sofa, still examining me; I felt the reception more poetical than agreeable: but he immediately commenced his fascinating conversation. I dined with him, and we naturally conversed almost entirely about Greece; yet chiefly on the manners of the people, their character, the difficulties of travelling, and the antiquities. I thought he seemed to regard my visit too much in the light of a tour, and asked for information on the state of parties in the Morea. He gave me it instantly; and in the course of conversation remarked, that I was far too enthusiastic, and too fresh from Germany: he exclaimed, laughing, "You have too much *schwärmerey*." I replied, that I expected to find the Greeks the same *canaille* that ex-

isted in the days of Themistocles.* Lord B. smiled, and said, "My opinion of the Greeks remains unchanged—I did not, indeed, think that with their character they would have achieved what they have done so soon; yet I always thought they deserved liberty, and they have proved it. The Turks, however, are far better fellows, far more gentlemanly, and I used to like them better when amongst them." Lord Byron uttered this in an unemphatical, and rather affectedly monotonous tone. I afterwards observed, that he adopted this tone not unfrequently, whenever he uttered any thing which diverged from the commonest style of conversation. Whenever he commenced a sentence which showed that the subject had engaged his mind, and that his thoughts were sublime, he checked himself, and finished a broken sentence, either with an indifferent smile, or with this annoying tone. I thought he had adopted it to conceal his feelings, when he feared to trust his tongue with the sentiments of his heart.† Often, it was evident, he did it to avoid betraying the author, or rather the poet. In mere satire and wit his genius ran wild, even in conversation. I left him quite delighted, charmed to find so great a man so agreeable, yet astonished that the author of *Childe Harold*, the *Corsair*, and *Manfred*, should have said so little worth remembering.

The next time we met was out riding. Lord Byron told me he had been struck at first by my resemblance to

* Alluding to a note in *Childe Harold*.

† I have observed Lord Byron act thus. He would often suppress noble sentiments that obtruded on his mind, or vainly attempt to turn them into ridicule.—L. S.

Shelley. "I thought you were Shelley's ghost," were his words. The resemblance, though it soon wore off, had likewise struck one of his Italian servants, who had called me the gentleman who is so like Mr. Shelley. I said I knew little of Shelley's works, but had been delighted with his translation of *Walpurgisnacht*. Lord Byron—"Shelley was really a most extraordinary genius; but those who know him only from his works, know but half his merits: it was from his thoughts and his conversation poor Shelley ought to be judged. He was romance itself in his manners and his style of thinking. He was, however, quite mad with his metaphysics, and a bigot in the least pardonable way."

We then conversed about Germany and its literature, and I found, to my astonishment, Lord Byron knew nothing of the language, though he was perfectly acquainted with its literature; with Goethe in particular, and with every passage of Faust. He said nothing could be more sublime than the words of the Spirit of the Earth to Faust, "Thou resemblest the spirit of thy imagination, not me." I involuntarily repeated it in German, and he said, "Yes, those are the words." The scene of the monkeys had made a considerable impression on him, and I remember, on my saying I suppose Goethe meant to represent men transformed into monkeys, he exclaimed, "Suppose no such thing—suppose them veritable monkeys, and the satire is finer and deeper." After a few words on *Wilhelm Meister*, I asked if he had read the *Wahlverwandtschaften*. He said, he did not recollect the hard word, but inquired the signification of it.—I gave some stupid translation, as the Choice Relationships. Lord Byron said, "Yes, yes, the Affinities

of Choice, I recollect reading a translation, which I should think was not a very good one, for some parts seemed to border on the unintelligible." I replied, that I thought some parts of the original bordered on it likewise, though, perhaps, they were not within its limits.

The review of Goethe's *Aus Meinem Leben* in the Edinburgh, he said, "was harsh and unfeeling. The literature of Europe is under obligations to Goethe, which entitled him to more respect; but often less ability is required to misrepresent and ridicule than to understand genius."

I told Lord Byron I had seen the dedication of *Sardanapalus* on its way to Goethe before it had been printed, and the letter Goethe had written to the gentleman who had forwarded it, in which he mentioned that he had once commenced a translation of the English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. Lord Byron pulled up his horse, and exclaimed, with eagerness, "He had, had he? and what did the old gentleman mean by that?" I said I supposed he was struck by such an extraordinary specimen of early genius; but that he had abandoned his design, finding he could not understand some passages without assistance. Lord Byron, "No, that is not the reason: you don't understand the tricks of authorship, but I can let you into the secret; there was more of the devil in me than in Goethe, and he was content to borrow my weapons against the Review, though I had wished to suppress the work. I remember another anecdote of Goethe. On the publication of *Manfred*, Goethe gave translations of those passages which he considered bore the greatest resemblance to *Faust*, to show my plagiarisms." I said, I am sure, my Lord, you have no fear of being thought

a plagiarist. He replied, "No, not much, though they seem to be trying hard to prove me one, in England."

From the literature, our conversation changed to the scenery, of Germany. I said I thought his Lordship admired the scenery of the Rhine beyond its merits; that he had raised my expectations too high, and that I had been disappointed. He spoke of the Rhine with enthusiasm, the fine rocks, the old ruined castles, and the vineyards. I said the rocks and castles were superb, but that the vineyards were by no means picturesque, and—altogether, I knew not why, but—I expected to find the banks of the Rhine finer than I found them. Lord Byron said, "You are too great a critic, yet I remember the same disappointment was expressed by a young man who accompanied me on the Rhine; I, however, was perfectly delighted, and it was at the Rhine I first felt pleasure after quitting England. I was as melancholy as man could be, till I arrived at Cologne, on a most beautiful evening. Do you think the scene before you fine?" I said, "it certainly is fine; we are riding in a rich plain, with a lofty mountain (the Black Mountain) on one side and the sea on the other, and in the distance we have the mountains of the Morea and Zante; such a scene must be fine, yet I could desire more." "At this rate, then, you will be dissatisfied with Greece; did you ever see scenery which left you nothing to desire?" I replied I had, and that the neighbourhood of Killarney had appeared to want nothing. I named likewise one or two views in Scotland; but it was around Killarney, that I had found scenery so beautiful and so majestic that I could imagine nothing finer. Lord Byron re-

plied, * Much depends on the state of our minds, and the impression of any scene would vary every day. He said he had never been in Ireland; and though it was probable he should never return to England, he had a wish to see Ireland. I observed that he must not be surprised at my want of taste, as I had neither been in Switzerland nor Italy, as Venice was only enough to swear by.

One day, at Cephalonia, after dinner, as I was going to ride back to Argostoli, Dr. Kennedy and Dr. Scott called; Lord Byron always took a siesta, and I thought he would not like the interruption, but I was wrong. The subject they called about was interesting—some people who had been wounded in making the road, whom Lord Byron's physician attended, under their direction; and Dr. Kennedy had likewise much religious conversation with his Lordship. I own I felt astonished to hear Lord Byron submit to lectures on his life, and his vanity, and the uselessness of his talents, which made me stare. The conversation was excessively amusing. Dr. Kennedy had given Lord Byron some silly tracts, which, to my utter astonishment, I found Byron had read. He flew to his room to show a passage of Sherlock, quoted

* If I may add a word, I should say, that since this I have seen river-scenery which realised my imagination—the banks of the Ladon and the Alpheus. The other views which I consider indescribable, on which it is poetry to gaze, are those from a ridge to the east near the summit of Helicon, and from the Theatre of Tauro-menium. All these scenes I saw under every combination of favourable circumstances.—London, 1825.

in one, which was in opposition to something urged by the Doctor, and forced Kennedy to own he had not read them himself, though he had given them to Lord Byron for his conversion. There was no argument, for though Byron was extremely fond of conversing on religious subjects, he seldom argued; single objections he would start, and strive to raise perplexities, and lead his adversary into contradictions, but I never heard him on any occasion enter the field as a professed deist. I remember he asked the Doctor if he believed in ghosts, read the account of the appearance of Samuel's spirit to Saul, and said it was one of the most sublime passages in Scripture; indeed, as has been often remarked, few people were better acquainted with the Scriptures; and I have heard him say, that very few days ever passed without his reading a chapter in a little pocket-bible, given him by Mrs. Leigh immediately before he left England, and which he always kept in his bed-room.

Before the end of the conversation with Kennedy, however, he grew very warm—talked a little too violently, but calmed again—asked Kennedy if he could not be a good Christian without believing in eternal perdition; and said he knew few he could abandon to such a fate. Kennedy referred to Scripture—Byron, “Well, I cannot believe that.” We parted, and he politely insisted on another visit, as he said, to complete his conversion.

I was present when he signed the bills for the loan to the Greek Government of the 30,000 dollars for the fleet;—it took place in the health-office of Cephalonia. On his holding the bills in his hand, before giving them

to Mr. Hamilton Brown, who, with the Greek deputies, was then in quarantine, and standing on the opposite side of the railing, I said, you may bid that money farewell, my Lord; you have taken the last look of it. He called out loudly, grasping the rails in his hand, "Not if I can help it. I shall this very day write to Douglas Kinnaird, and request him to make them pay me with the very first proceeds of the loan, if they get one." He did this, I believe, but I think he wrote at the same time to purchase Greek stock with the money.

While in Cephalonia, I dare say you have seen him in the Tartan jacket he very often wore. On being asked if he wore it from his love of Scotland, he said, "Certainly, I do; we are all Scotchmen here; and I wish to do every thing to wipe out the remembrance of my old quarrel."

While I was at Cephalonia, Lord Byron seemed to live in his usual abstemious manner. Once on my praising some fish, though he had finished his own scanty dinner of soup, potatoes, and cheese, and boasted of the short time he took to his dinner, and called in Fletcher's concurrent testimony, he commenced again with fish, made a very tolerable dinner, finished with soup, and drank a few glasses of hock, which he gave me, because, as he said, I was a German.

Lord Byron had invited me to accompany him at this time to Greece, and was in readiness to depart, when circumstances induced him to defer it. I then left Cephalonia with Anarghiros, and some German officers, and I believe you arrived very shortly after.

If you can take the trouble to read this, I shall, per-

haps, add to my next letter some anecdotes of my residence at Missolonghi.

I am,

Most sincerely yours,

GEORGE FINLAY.

Argos, May 31, 1824.

To the Hon. Col. Leicester Stanhope,
Lazaretto, Zante.

My dear Stanhope,

I ARRIVED at Missolonghi at the latter end of February, a few days after your departure. Lord Byron almost immediately informed me of the violent fit of illness which had attacked him in your room a few days before ; he declared he believed it to be epilepsy, and seemed seriously alarmed. I conversed with him very often on the subject, and, for a month or more, he continually expressed his fears of a return of the fit. His own physician seemed, for a few days, to entertain the same opinion as his Lordship ; but Millingen constantly asserted that the fit was not epilepsy. I once remarked that epilepsy was by no means a very dangerous disease, and that a man might live very long under it without suffering any very serious inconvenience, giving the instance of Cæsar. Lord Byron replied, very solemnly, " if it really prove epilepsy, I shall never have more than one fit, for I feel I could starve myself." He soon promised to send Odysseus what he could spare of the Committee's stores, and appeared anxious to attend the Congress at Salona, for the purpose of inviting him and Mavrocordato to which, I had visited Missolonghi.

During my stay at Missolonghi, in the forenoon I rode out with Lord Byron ; and generally Mr. Fowke and myself spent the evenings in his room.

In our rides, the state of Greece was the usual subject of our conversation ; and, at times, he expressed a strong wish to revisit Athens. I mentioned the great cheapness of property in Attica, and the possibility of my purchasing some of the villas near the city. He said that, if I could find any eligible property, he would have no objections to purchase likewise, as he wished to have some real property in Greece ; and he authorised me to treat for him. I always urged him to make Corinth his head-quarters. Sometimes he appeared inclined to do so, and remarked, that it would be a strange coincidence if, after writing an unsuccessful defence of Corinth, he should himself make a successful one. An event so fortunate, I said, would leave him no more to ask from fortune, and reminded him how very much of fame depends on mere accident. Cæsar's conquests and his works would not have raised his fame so high, but for the manner of his death.* Lord Byron's death, too, has now shed a lustre on his writings and his actions—they are in accordance ; for his life was sacrificed in the cause for which he had early written, and which he constantly supported. His merit would not have been greater had he breathed his last on the isthmus of Corinth at the conclusion of a baffled siege ; yet such a death would have been certainly more

* Surely it was his genius and his conquests, his virtues and his tyranny, that rendered his fall so memorable.—L.S.

fortunate—and would not the singularity of the incident have recalled his name oftener to the memory, at least, of those who have no souls?

In the evenings, Lord Byron was generally extremely communicative, and talked much of his youthful scenes at Cambridge, Brighton, and London; spoke very often of his friends, Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Scroope B. Davies—told many anecdotes of himself which are well known, and many which were amusing from his narration, but which would lose their interest from another; but what astonished me the most was the ease with which he spoke of all those reports which were spread by his enemies—he gave his denials and explanations with the frankness of an unconcerned person.

I often spoke to him about Newstead Abbey, which I had visited in 1821, a few months before leaving England. On informing him of the repairs and improvements which were then going on, he said, if he had been rich enough he should have liked to have kept it as the old abbey; but he enjoyed the excellent bargain he had made at the sale. A solicitor sent him a very long bill, and, on his grumbling at the amount, he said he was silenced by a letter, reminding him that he had received £20,000 forfeit-money from the first purchaser. I mentioned the picture of his bear in the cottage near the lodge—the Newfoundland dog and the verses on its tomb. He said, Newfoundland dogs had twice saved his life, and that he could not live without one.

He spoke frequently of the time he lived at Aberdeen. Their house was near the college. He described

the place, but I have forgotten it. He said his mother's "lassack" used to put him to bed at a very early hour, and then go to converse with her lover; he had heard the house was haunted, and sometimes used to get out of bed and run along the lobby in his shirt, till he saw a light, and there remain standing till he was so cold he was forced to go to bed again. One night the servant returning, he grew frightened and ran towards his room; the maid saw him, and fled more frightened than he; she declared she had seen a ghost. Lord Byron said, he was so frightened at the maid, he kept the secret till she was turned away; and, he added, he never since kept a secret half so long.

The first passion he ever felt was for a young lady who was on a visit to his mother while they lived in Scotland; he was, at the time, about six years old, and the young lady about nine, yet he was almost ill on her leaving his mother's house to return home. He told me if I should ever meet the lady, (giving me her address,) to ask her if she remembers him.

On some conversation about the English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, he gave, as a reason for his attacking many of the persons included, that he was informed, some time before the publication of the review, that the next number was to contain an article on his poems which had been read at Holland-House.—“Judge of my fever; was it not a pleasant situation for a young author?”

In conversation he used to deliver very different opinions on many authors from those contained in his works; in the one case he might be guided more by his judgement, and, in the other, submit entirely to his own

particular taste. I have quoted his writings in opposition to his words, and he replied, "never mind what I print, that is not what I think." He certainly did not consider much of the poetry of the present day as "possessing buoyancy enough to float down the stream of time." I remarked, he ought really to alter the passage in the preface of *Marino Faliero*, on living dramatic talent;—he exclaimed, laughing, "do you mean me to erase the name of *moral me*?" In this manner he constantly distinguished Millman, alluding to some nonsense in the *Quarterly Review*.

He was extremely amused with *Blackwood's Magazine*, and read it whenever he could get a number; he has frequently repeated to me passages of *Ensign O'Doherty's* poetry, which I had not read, and expressed great astonishment at the ability displayed by the author.

On a gentleman present once asking his opinion of the works of a female author of some note, he said, "a bad imitation of me—all pause and start."

On my borrowing *Mitford's History of Greece* from him, and saying I had read it once, and intended commencing it again in Greece; he said, "I hate the book, it makes you too well acquainted with the ancient Greeks, and robs antiquity of all its charms. History, in his hands, has no poetry."

I was in the habit of praising Sir William Gell's *Itineraries to Lord B.* and he, on the other hand, took every opportunity of attacking his *Argolis*, though his attacks were chiefly directed against the drawings, and particularly the view of the bay. He told me he was the author of the article on Sir W. Gell's *Argolis*

in the *Monthly Review*; and said he had written two other articles in this work, but I have forgotten them.

Whenever the drama was mentioned, he defended the unities most eagerly, and usually attacked Shakspeare. A gentleman present, on hearing his anti-Shakspeareian opinions, rushed out of the room, and afterwards entered his protest most anxiously against such doctrines. Lord B. was quite delighted with this, and redoubled the severity of his criticism. I had heard that Shelley once said to Lord B. in his extraordinary way, "B. you are a most wonderful man." "How?" "You are envious of Shakspeare." I, therefore, never expressed the smallest astonishment at hearing Shakspeare abused; but remarked, it was curious that Lord B. was so strangely conversant in an author of such inferior merit, and that he should so continually have the most melodious lines of Shakspeare in his mouth, as examples of blank verse. He said once, when we were alone, "I like to astonish Englishmen: they come abroad full of Shakspeare, and contempt for the dramatic literature of other nations; they think it blasphemy to find a fault in his writings, which are full of them. People talk of the tendency of my writings, and yet read the sonnets to Master Hughes." Lord B. certainly did not admire the French tragedians enthusiastically.

I said to him, there is a subject for the drama which, I believe has never been touched, and which, I think, affords the greatest possible scope for the representation of all that is sublime in human character—but then it would require an abandonment of the unities—the attack of Maurice of Saxony on Charles V. which saved the protestant religion; it is a subject of more

than national interest. He said it was certainly a fine subject; but he held that the drama could not exist without a strict adherence to the unities; and besides, he knew well he had failed in his dramatic attempts, and that he intended to make no more. He said he thought *Sardanapalus* his best tragedy.

The memory of Lord B. was very extraordinary; it was not the mere mechanical memory which can repeat the advertisements of a newspaper and such nonsense; but of all the innumerable novels which he had read, he seemed to recollect perfectly the story and every scene of merit.

Once I had a bet with Mr. Fowke that Maurice of Orange was not the grandson of Maurice of Saxony, as it ran in my head that Maurice was a son of Count Horn's sister. On applying for a decision of our bet to Lord B. he immediately told me I was wrong, that William of Orange was thrice married, and that he had Maurice by a daughter of Maurice of Saxony: he repeated the names of all the children. I said, this is the most extraordinary instance of your memory I ever heard. He replied, "It's not very extraordinary—I read it all a few days ago in Watson's *Philip II.* and you will find it in a note at the bottom of the last page but one (I think he said) of the second volume. He went to his bed-room, and brought the book, in which we found the note he had repeated. It seemed to me wonderful enough that such a man could recollect the names of William of Orange's children and their families even for ten minutes.

Once, on receiving some newspapers, in reading the advertisements of new publications aloud, I read the

name of Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt; Lord B. instantly said, "Sir Aubrey was at Harrow; I remember, but he was younger than me. He was an excellent swimmer, and once saved a boy's life; nobody would venture in, and the boy was nearly drowned, when Sir Aubrey was called. The boy's name was M'Kinnon, and he went afterwards to India." I think B. said he died there.

"It is strange," I replied; "I heard this very circumstance from Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, who inquired if I knew the boy, who must now be a man, but said, I think, that his name was Mackenzie." "Depend upon it I am right," said Byron.

Lord B. said he had kept a very exact journal of every circumstance of his life, and many of his thoughts while young, that he had let Mr. Hobhouse see it in Albania, and that he at last persuaded him to burn it. He said Hobhouse had robbed the world of a treat.* He used to say that many of his acquaintance, particularly his female ones, while he was in London, did not like Mr. Hobhouse, "for they thought he kept me within bounds."

Sometimes he used to tell anecdotes of his unpublished poetry, and I have heard him say that he has written poetical epistles. He repeated some passages, particularly a letter, consoling Murray, who

* Mr. Hobhouse is said to have destroyed this manuscript, because there were in it objectionable passages, and he thought it would be discreditable to let an extract of it be spread abroad. If any shall doubt the correctness of Mr. H.'s judgement in this instance, they must, at least, honour his motives.—L. S.

had informed him of some of his losses, pointing out to him all the advantages he enjoyed as a publisher ; it was in imitation of the little poems concluding each stanza with "my Mother," "my Mary," &c. one stanza of Lord B.'s concluded

" And then thou hast the Navy-list,
My Murray."

When he was asked for a motto for the Greek Telegraph, by Gamba, during the time he felt averse to the publication of a European newspaper in Greece, he gave, "To the Greeks foolishness;" in allusion to the publication in languages which the natives generally do not understand.

On a discussion in his presence, concerning the resemblance of character between the ancient and modern Greeks, he said, "at least we have St. Paul's authority that they had their present character in his time ; for he says, there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek."

A few days before I left Missolonghi, riding out together, he told me, that he had received a letter from his sister, in which she mentioned, that one of the family had displayed some poetical talent, but that she would not tell him who, as she hoped she should hear no more of it. I said, that is a strange wish from the sister of such a poet. He replied, that he believed the poetical talent was always a source of pain, and that he would certainly have been happier had he never written a line.

But I must finish, for I am sure I have fatigued you. I shall feel very anxious to see every thing that is pub-

lished in England concerning Lord Byron; though I believe that, for some time, he will not be dealt more fairly with than during his life. Time, however, will soon put an end to all undue admiration and malicious cant, and the world will ultimately form their estimate of Lord Byron's character from his writings and his public conduct; they can then justly enough estimate the greatness of his genius and his mind, and the real extent of his faults. The ridiculous calumnies which have found a moment's credit will very soon be utterly forgotten. Nor will it be from the cursory memoirs or anecdotes of his contemporaries that his character can be drawn. Those only who were personally acquainted with him can be aware of the influence which every passing event had over his mind, or know the innumerable modifications under which his character was daily presenting itself: even his writings took a shade of colouring from those around him. His passions and feelings were so lively that each occurrence made a strong impression, and his conduct became so entirely governed by impulse that he immediately and vehemently declared his sentiments. It is not wonderful, therefore, that instances of his inconsistency should be found; though in the most important actions of his life, he has acted with no common consistency, and his death attests his sincerity. To attempt by scattered facts to illustrate his character is really useless. A hundred could be immediately told to prove him a miser; as many to prove him the most generous of men; an equal number, perhaps, to show he was nervously alive to the distresses of others, or heartlessly unfeeling; at times, that he indulged in every desire; at others, that he pursued the most determined system

of self-denial ; that he ridiculed his friends, or defended them with the greatest anxiety. At one time, he was all enthusiasm ; at another, perfect indifference on the very same subject. All this would be true, and yet our inference most probably incorrect. Such hearts as Lord B.'s must become old at an early age, from the continual excitement to which they are exposed, and those only can judge fairly of him, even from his personal acquaintance, who knew him from his youth, when his feelings were warmer than they could be latterly. From some of those who have seen the whole course of his wonderful existence, we may, indeed, expect information ; and it is information, not scandal, that will be sought for.

I am, &c.

Yours, most sincerely,

GEORGE FINLAY.

Tripolitza, June, 1824.

SKETCH OF LORD BYRON,

BY LEICESTER STANHOPE.

IN much of what certain authors have lately said in praise of Lord Byron, I concur. The public are indebted to them for useful information concerning that extraordinary man's biography. I do not, however, think that any of them have given of him a full and masterly description. It would require a person of his own wonderful capacity to draw his character, and even he could not perform this task otherwise than by continuing the history of what passed in his mind; for his character was as versatile as his genius. From his writings, therefore, he must be judged, and from them can he alone be understood. His character was, indeed, poetic, like his works, and he partook of the virtues and vices of the heroes of his imagination. Lord Byron was original and eccentric in all things, and his conduct and his writings were unlike those of other men. He might have said with Rousseau, "*Moi seul. Je sens mon cœur et je connois les hommes. Je ne suis fait comme aucun de ceux qui existent. Si je ne vaux pas mieux, au moins, je suis autre. Si la Na-*

ture a bien ou mal fait de briser le moule dans lequel elle m'a jetté, c'est dont on ne peut juger qu'après m'avoir lu." All that can be hoped is, that, after a number of the ephemeral sketches of Lord Byron have been published, and ample information concerning him obtained, some master hand will undertake the task of drawing his portrait. If any thing like justice be done to Lord Byron, his character will appear far more extraordinary than any his imagination has produced, and not less wonderful than those sublime and inimitable sketches created and painted by the fanciful pen of Shakspeare.

There were two circumstances which appear to me to have had a powerful influence on Lord Byron's conduct. I allude to his lameness and his marriage. The deformity of his foot constantly preyed on his spirits and soured his temper. It is extraordinary, however, and contrary, I believe, to the conduct of the generality of lame persons, that he pitied, sympathised, and befriended those who laboured under similar defects.

With respect to Lady Byron, her image appeared to be rooted in his mind. She had wounded Lord Byron's pride by having refused his first offer of marriage; by having separated herself from him whom others assiduously courted; and by having resisted all the efforts of his genius to compel her again to yield to his dominion. Had Lady Byron been submissive, could she have stooped to become a caressing slave, like other ingenious slaves she might have governed her lord and master. But no, she had a mind too great, and was too much of an Englishwoman to bow so low. These contrarieties set Lord Byron's heart on fire, roused all

his passions, gave birth, no doubt, to many of his sublimest thoughts, and impelled him impetuously forward in his zig-zag career. When angry or humorous, she became the subject of his wild sport; at other times, she seemed, though he loved her not, to be the mistress of his feelings, and one whom he in vain attempted to cast from his thoughts. Thus, in a frolicsome tone, I have heard him sketch characters; and, speaking of a certain acquaintance, say, "With the exception of Southey and Lady Byron, there is no one I hate so much!" This was a noisy shot—a sort of a *feu de joie*, that inflicted no wound, and left no scar behind. Lord Byron was in reality a good-natured man, and it was a violence to his nature, which he seldom practised, either to conceal what he thought, or to harbour revenge. In one conversation which I had with Lord Byron, he dwelt much upon the acquirements and virtues of Lady Byron, and even said, she had committed no fault but that of having married him. The truth is, that he was not formed for marriage. His riotous genius could not bear restraint. No woman could have lived with him but one devoid of, or of subdued, feelings—an Asiatic slave. Lord Byron, it is well known, was passionately fond of his child; of this he gave me the following proof. He showed me a miniature of Ada, as also a clever description of her character, drawn by her mother, and forwarded to him by the person he most esteemed, his amiable sister. After I had examined the letter, while reflecting on its contents, I gazed intently on the picture; Lord Byron, observing me in deep meditation, impatiently said, "Well, well, what do you think of Ada?" I replied, "If these are true representations of Ada, and are not

drawn to flatter your vanity, you have engrafted on her your virtues and your failings. She is in mind and feature the very image of her father." Never did I see man feel more pleasure than Lord Byron felt at this remark; his eyes lightened with ecstasy.

Lord Byron's mental and personal courage was unlike that of other men. To the superficial observer, his conduct seemed to be quite unsettled: this was really the case to a certain extent. His genius was boundless and excursive, and in conversation his tongue went rioting on

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

Still, upon the whole, no man was more constant, and, I may almost say, more obstinate in the pursuit of some great objects. For example, in religion and politics, he seemed firm as a rock, though like a rock he was subjected to occasional rude shocks, the convulsions of agitated nature.

The assertions I have ventured to make of Lord Byron having fixed opinions on certain material questions are not according to his own judgement. From what fell from his own lips, I could draw no such conclusions, for, in conversing with me on government and religion, and after going wildly over these subjects, sometimes in a grave and philosophical, and sometimes in a laughing and humorous strain, he would say, "The more I think, the more I doubt; I am a perfect sceptic." In contradiction to this assertion, I set Lord Byron's recorded sentiments, and his actions from the period of his boyhood to that of his death; and I con-

tend that, although he occasionally veered about, yet he always returned to certain fixed opinions; and that he felt a constant attachment to liberty, according to his own notions of liberty, and that, although no Christian, he was a firm believer in the existence of a God. It is, therefore, equally remote from truth to represent him as either an atheist or a Christian: he was, as he has often told me, a confirmed deist.

Lord Byron was no party politician. Lord Clare was the person whom he liked best, because he was his old school acquaintance. Mr. John Cam Hobhouse was his long-tryed, his esteemed, and valued literary and personal friend. Death has severed these; but there is a soul in friendship that can never die. No man ever chose a nobler friend. Mr. Hobhouse has given many proofs of this, and among others, I saw him, from motives of high honour, destroy a beautiful poem of Lord Byron's, and, perhaps, the last he ever composed. The same reason that induced Mr. H. to tear this fine manuscript will, of course, prevent him or me from ever divulging its contents. Mr. Douglas Kinnaird was another for whom Lord Byron entertained the sincerest esteem: no less on account of his high social qualities, than as a clear-sighted man of business, on whose discretion he could implicitly rely. Sir Francis Burdett was the politician whom he most admired. He used to say, "Burdett is an Englishman of the old school." He compared the Baronet to the Statesmen of Charles the First's time, whom he considered the sternest and loftiest spirits that Britain had produced. Lord Byron entertained high aristocratic notions, and had much family pride. He admired, notwithstanding, the Ame-

rican institutions, but did not consider them of so democratic a nature as is generally imagined. He found, he said, many Englishmen and English writers more imbued with liberal notions than those Americans and American authors with whom he was acquainted.

Lord Byron often spoke to me about Mr. Canning. His Lordship entertained a high opinion of his scholarship, and his capacity for public business. "Canning," he said, "is a genius, almost a universal one; an orator, a poet, and a statesman." He felt for Mr. Secretary Canning as Mr. Windham did for Sir Francis Burdett, a sort of sneaking partiality, which excited in him hopes. Lord Byron appears to have prejudged well, for where is the minister, under the influence of an unreformed Parliament, who would have done more than he has effected during the last sessions. Mr. Canning has the high merit of having acted up to the professions of his political antagonists. Lord Byron and the reformers have indeed had reason to complain of this minister, for he had rendered himself for a time the most formidable enemy to reform, by pursuing in other state affairs a wise course. From his great general merit, however, must be excepted parts of his conduct towards our Eastern Empire. Thwarted in his first good selection, he has sent out to India an amiable gentleman, but a very incompetent diplomatist and governor. This mistake has involved the country in an unnecessary, an ill-conducted, a protracted, and an expensive war, accompanied by dangerous military mutinies. Lord Amherst has stifled the free press, which Warren Hastings (for many years justly prosecuted as a tyrant) protected; which Lord Hastings, in the pride of his triumphs, restored; and which Mr. Canning

once magnanimously shielded from the scribes of Leadenhall. Poor Lord Amherst has been brought into such contempt that he has been hissed at the Calcutta theatre by a mob who gave two guineas each for their tickets. Bad as this is, Lord Amherst may thank his stars that Edmund Burke is not on earth to scrutinize, and dissect, with his sharp wit, the conduct of his mad and slavish administration: to stand up, as in the bright days of his virtue, the mighty advocate of oppressed nations, to give another rough sweeping to the filthy Augean stable, and to lay the great foundations of wholesome reforms. But it is time to return from the obtrusion of my opinions of Mr. Canning to those of Lord Byron; and that his Lordship's sentiments concerning him may not be mis-stated, I shall quote them in his own words:—

“ Yet something may remain, perchance, to chime
With reason, and, what's stranger still, with rhyme;
Even this thy genius, Canning, may permit,
Who, bred a statesman, still was born a wit,
And never, even in that dull house, couldst tame
To unleavened prose thine own poetic flame;
Our last, our best, our only orator,
Ev'n I can praise thee.”

Lord Byron was chivalrous even to Quixotism. This might have lowered him in the estimation of the wise, had he not given some extraordinary proofs of the noblest courage. For example, the moment he recovered from that alarming fit which took place in my room, he inquired again and again, with the utmost composure, whether he was in danger. If in danger, he desired

the physician honestly to apprise him of it, for he feared not death. Soon after this dreadful paroxysm, when Lord Byron, faint with over-bleeding, was lying on his sick bed, with his whole nervous system completely shaken, the mutinous Suliots, covered with dirt and splendid attires, broke into his apartment, brandishing their costly arms, and loudly demanding their wild rights. Lord Byron, electrified by this unexpected act, seemed to recover from his sickness; and the more the Suliots raged, the more his calm courage triumphed. The scene was truly sublime.

At times, Lord Byron would become disgusted with the Greeks, on account of their horrid cruelties, their delays, their importuning him for money, and their not fulfilling their promises. That he should feel thus was very natural, although all this is just what might be anticipated from a people breaking loose from ages of bondage. We are too apt to expect the same conduct from men educated as slaves (and here be it remembered that the Greeks were the Helots of slaves) that we find in those who have, from their infancy, breathed the wholesome atmosphere of liberty.

Most persons assume a virtuous character. Lord Byron's ambition, on the contrary, was to make the world imagine that he was a sort of "Satan," though occasionally influenced by lofty sentiments to the performance of great actions. Fortunately for his fame, he possessed another quality, by which he stood completely unmasked. He was the most ingenuous of men; and his nature, in the main good, always triumphed over his acting.

There was nothing that he detested more than to be

thought merely a great poet, though he did not wish to be esteemed inferior as a dramatist to Shakspeare. Like Voltaire, he was unconsciously jealous of, and for that reason abused, our immortal bard. His mind was absorbed in detecting Shakspeare's glaring defects, instead of being overpowered by his wonderful creative and redeeming genius. He assured me, that he was so far from being a "heaven-born poet," that he was not conscious of possessing any talent in that way when a boy. This gift had burst upon his mind unexpectedly, as if by inspiration, and had excited his wonder. He also declared, that he had no love or enthusiasm for poetry. I shook my head, doubtingly, and said to him, that although he had displayed a piercing sagacity in reading and developing the characters of others, he knew but little of his own. (He replied, "Often have I told you that I am a perfect sceptic. I have no fixed opinions, that is my character. Like others I am not in love with what I possess, but with that which I do not possess, and which is difficult to obtain.") Lord Byron was for shining as a hero of the first order. He wished to take an active part in the civil and military government of Greece. On this subject he consulted me; I condemned the direct assumption of command by a foreigner, fearing that it would expose him to envy and danger without promoting the cause. I wished him, by a career of perfect disinterestedness, to preserve a commanding influence over the Greeks, and to act as their great mediator. Lord Byron listened to me with unusual and courteous politeness, for he suspected my motives—he thought me envious—jealous of his increasing power; and though he did not disregard, did not altogether follow my ad-

vice. I was not, however, to be disarmed by politeness or suspicions; they touched me not, for my mind was occupied with loftier thoughts. The attack was renewed the next day in a mild tone. The collision, however, of Lord Byron's arguments, sparkling with jests, and mine, regardless of his brilliancy and satire, all earnestness, ended as usual in a storm. Though most anxious to assume high power, Lord Byron was still modest. He said to me, laughing, that if Napier came, he would *supersede himself*, as governor and commander of Western Greece, in favour of that distinguished officer. I laughed at this whimsical expression till I made Lord Byron laugh too, and repeat over again that he would "supersede himself."

The mind of Lord Byron was like a volcano, full of fire and wealth, sometimes calm, often dazzling and playful, but ever threatening. It ran swift as the lightning from one subject to another, and occasionally burst forth in passionate throes of intellect, nearly allied to madness. A striking instance of this sort of eruption I shall mention. Lord Byron's apartments were immediately over mine at Missolonghi. In the dead of the night, I was frequently startled from my sleep by the thunders of his Lordship's voice, either raging with anger or roaring with laughter, and rousing friends, servants, and, indeed, all the inmates of the dwelling from their repose. Even when in the utmost danger, Lord Byron contemplated death with calm philosophy. He was, however, superstitious, and dreadfully alarmed at the idea of going MAD, which he predicted would be his sad destiny.

As a companion, no one could be more amusing; he

had neither pedantry nor affectation about him, but was natural and playful as a boy. His conversation resembled a stream, sometimes smooth, sometimes rapid, and sometimes rushing down in cataracts; it was a mixture of philosophy and slang—of every thing—like his “Don Juan.” He was a patient, and, in general, a very attentive listener. When, however, he did engage with earnestness in conversation, his ideas succeeded each other with such uncommon rapidity, that he could not control them. They burst from him impetuously; and although he both attended to, and noticed the remarks of others, yet he did not allow these to check his discourse for an instant.

Lord Byron professed a deep-rooted antipathy to the English, though he was always surrounded by Englishmen, and, in reality, preferred them (as he did Italian women) to all others. I one day accused him of ingratitude to his countrymen. For many years, I observed, he had been, in spite of his faults, and although he had shocked all her prejudices, the pride, and I might almost say, the idol of Britain. He said, they must be a stupid race to worship such an idol, but he had at last cured their superstition, as far as his divinity was concerned, by the publication of his “Cain.” It was true, I replied, that he had now lost their favour. This remark stung him to the soul, for he wished not only to occupy the public mind, but to command, by his genius, public esteem. Having touched upon the subject of “Cain,” and his passions being excited, he began to rate the Lord Chancellor Eldon; that “most wise and upright judge,” who, from an humble origin, had risen to rank and to a comfortable competency, who “sat like

patience on a monument," pondering on mountains of parchment, and revolving cases, laws, equity, politics, theology, common sense, reason,—artificial or law reason, and political reason or expediency, in his deep mind; judging "in time and by time"—time deciding all things. This orthodox Protestant and statesman-like judge, Lord Byron called "The Demon of the Law." He condemned Lord Eldon's decision in his own case as most unjust, for he had robbed him of his property, and had cast it away in the public market, to be scrambled for and divided among the breakers and defyers of the law. He reprobated it as impolitic, because it had lowered the price of the work, had rendered it by this arbitrary decree popular, and had thereby increased its sale ten-fold. Lord Byron then began to rail at England, her constitution, her judges, and laws. "She boasted of her laws, (he said,) which were the most voluminous and undefined, contradictory and bloody—in short, the worst 'Code' (if such a heap of asses' skin could be called a 'Code') in the world, not excepting that of the Koran. She asserted that her laws were the envy of the world; this was false. Foreigners, on the contrary, wondered how a nation so enlightened could submit to be under the dominion of such a 'Code.' In some cases they were, in fact, under the arbitrary power of the Lord Chancellor, who, contrary to every wise principle of justice, is also the highest political functionary in the realm. With respect to the other parts of the judiciary system, all that was good in it was counter-balanced by the arbitrary power and dreadful delays suffered in the Court of Chancery under Lord Eldon; and the enormous expense to be incurred in the pursuit

of justice, put it beyond the reach of the mass of the people, and enabled the rich, right or wrong, to triumph." While Lord Byron paused to take breath, I said "you are preaching the doctrines of the immortal Bentham." "Yes, (he replied,) law is his *forte*, and not the fabricating of constitutions." I was about to answer, but Lord Byron was off again in a voice too loud and swift to admit of interruption. "Thus, (he continued,) the people of England are deprived of justice; and the people of Ireland, of Hindoostan, and of the Colonies,—that is to say, nine-tenths of British subjects,—are, from restrictions on religion, on liberty, and on trade, out of the pale of this—our famous constitution!" In this strain Lord Byron continued to dwell at great length. He was indeed, so absorbed in the subject, that he paid no attention to my replies or remarks, but pursued his line of argument. Suddenly he changed his theme, and began to talk about "Cain" and his religious opinions, to condemn all atheists, and to maintain the principles of deism. The conversation, of which this report is merely an outline, took place during a ride at Cephalonia, and lasted two or three hours almost without a pause.

This extraordinary person, whom every body was as anxious to see, and to know, as if he had been a Napoleon—the conqueror of the world, had a notion that he was hated, and avoided like one who had broken quarantine. He used often to mention to me the kindness of this or that insignificant individual, for having given him a good and friendly reception. In this particular, Lord Byron was capricious; for at Genoa he would scarcely see any one but those who lived in his own family; whereas, at Cephalonia, he was to every one

and at all times accessible. At Genoa he acted the misanthropist. At Cephalonia he appeared in his genuine character, doing good, and rather courting than shunning society.

Lord Byron conceived that he possessed a profound knowledge of mankind, and of the working of their passions. In this he judged right. He could fathom every mind and heart but his own, the extreme depths of which none ever reached. On my arrival from England, at Cephalonia, his Lordship asked me what new publications I had brought out. Among others I mentioned "The Springs of Action." "Springs of Action," said Lord Byron, stamping with rage with his lame foot, and then turning sharply on his heel, "I don't require to be taught on this head. I know well what are the Springs of Action." Some time afterwards, while speaking on another subject, he desired me to lend him, "The Springs of Action." He then suddenly changed the conversation to some humorous remarks, for the purpose of diverting my attention. I could not, however, forbear reminding him of his former observations, and his furious stamp.

Avarice and great generosity were among Lord Byron's qualities; these contrarieties are said not unfrequently to be united in the same person. As an instance of Lord Byron's parsimony, he was constantly attacking Count Gamba, sometimes, indeed, playfully, but more often with the bitterest satire, for having purchased for the use of his family, while in Greece, 500 dollars' worth of cloth. This he used to mention as an instance of the Count's imprudence and extravagance. Lord Byron

told me one day, with a tone of great gravity, that this 500 dollars would have been most serviceable in promoting the siege of Lepanto ; and, that he never would, to the last moment of his existence, forgive Gamba, for having squandered away his money in the purchase of cloth. No one will suppose that Lord Byron could be serious in such a denunciation ; he entertained, in reality, the highest opinion of Count Gamba, who, both on account of his talents and devotedness to his friend, merited his Lordship's esteem.

Lord Byron's generosity is before the world ; he promised to devote his large income to the cause of Greece, and he honestly acted up to his pledge. On the result of this struggle depend the liberties of Greece, and most probably those of the neighbouring countries. The sages of diplomacy, that hateful race, so unlike the De Wits and the Temples, pray for their retrograding back to dark barbarism. Nature has, however, blessed mankind with reason, with the faculties of acquiring knowledge, with the means of judging between right and wrong, and when a nation has the courage to put forth all her strength, its powers are, in general, sufficient to master oppression. These influences, I doubt not, will be exercised in favour of Greece. The Turks will never permanently conquer liberated Greece, and her condition must necessarily be improved.

I consider the effects which have been brought about by the press and by education in Hindoostan, and the efforts making in favour of freedom by the Greeks, to form an epoch in the history of Asia. Like the Reformation, from which remote event may be derived the Ame-

rican and the French Revolutions, these measures will, also, spite of the arbitrary power, which may check or may increase the impetus, produce a long chain of events highly advantageous to the interests and dignity of man. To those who fear the workings of the public mind, the "march of intellect," and the life and the movements to which it gives birth, there is left no consolation. All their efforts to stifle or to annihilate these feelings must prove ineffectual: they might as well attempt to choke the mouth of *Ætna* and prevent the throes of Nature.

It was impossible for Lord Byron to have made a more useful and, therefore, a more noble sacrifice of his wealth, than by devoting it, *with discretion*, to the Greek cause. He set a bright example to the *millionaires* of his own country, who certainly show but little public spirit. Most of them expend their fortunes in acts of ostentation or selfishness. Few there are of this class who will devote, perchance, the hundredth part of their large incomes to acts of benevolence or bettering the condition of their fellow-men. None of our *millionaires*, with all their pride and their boasting, have had the public virtue, like Lord Byron, to sacrifice their incomes or their lives in aid of a people struggling for liberty. They are all ready with their large professions and their brilliant speeches, and these, it is true, are of vast importance in promoting a lofty spirit throughout the world; but all their public debts are paid in this way. What generous mind but admired the fine, the eloquent orations made in favour of the Spanish cause, or could feel otherwise than horror-struck at beholding the martyrs to it famishing with hunger in the streets of London? It is true, that efforts were made

in favour of these patriots, but not by those who most excited their passions, nor by the *millionaires*.

Lord Byron's reading was desultory, but extensive; his memory was retentive to an extraordinary extent. He was partial to the Italian poets, and is said to have borrowed from them. Their fine thoughts he certainly associated with his own, but with such skill, that he could not be accused of plagiarism. Lord Byron possessed, indeed, a genius absolutely boundless, and could create with such facility that it would have been irksome to him to have become a servile imitator. He was original in all things, but especially as a poet.

The study of voyages and travels was that in which he most delighted; their details he seemed actually to devour. He would sit up all night reading them. His whole soul was absorbed in these adventures, and he appeared to personify the traveller. Lord Byron had a particular aversion to business; his familiar letters were scrawled out at a great rate, and resembled his conversations. Rapid as were his tongue and his pen, neither could keep pace with the quick succession of ideas that flashed across his mind. He hated nothing more than writing formal official letters; this drudgery he would generally put off from day to day, and finish by desiring Count Gamba, or some other friend, to perform the task. No wonder that Lord Byron should dislike this dry antipoetic work, and which he, in reality, performed with so much difficulty. Lord Byron's arduous, yet unsuccessful, labours in this barren field, put me in mind of the difficulty which one of the biographers of Addison describes this politician to have experienced when attempting to compose an official paragraph for the

Gazette, announcing the death of the Queen. This duty, after a long and ineffectual attempt, the minister, in despair, handed over to a clerk, who (not being a genius, but a man of business) performed it in an instant.

Not less was Lord Byron's aversion to reading than to writing official documents; these he used to hand over to me, pretending, spite of all my protestations to the contrary, that I had a passion for documents. When once Lord Byron had taken any whim into his head, he listened not to contradiction, but went on laughing and satirizing, till his joke had triumphed over argument and fact. Thus I, for the sake of peace, was sometimes silent, and suffered him to good-naturedly bully me into reading over, or, rather, yawning over, a mass of documents dull and uninteresting.

Lord Byron once told me, in a humourous tone, but apparently quite in earnest, that he never could acquire a competent knowledge of arithmetic. Addition and subtraction he said he could, though with some difficulty, accomplish. The mechanism of the rule of three pleased him, but then division was a puzzle he could not muster up sufficient courage to unravel. I mention this, to show of how low a cast Lord Byron's capacity was in some common-place matters, where he could not command attention. The reverse was the case on subjects of a higher order, and in those trifling ones, too, that pleased his fancy. Moved by such themes, the impulses of his genius shot forth, by day and night, from his troubled brain, electric sparks or streams of light, like blazing meteors. Critics may disapprove of my narrating facts like these, as illustrative of his character—of my showing

his strong and feeble side—his virtues and his failings. I crave your mercy, critics; I know no law of composition, but that paramount one of truth. My crime is that of having gone beyond my depth—of having presumptuously attempted to give a sketch of one of the most eccentric and original geniuses that ever existed.

✓ Lord Byron loved Greece. Her climate and her scenery—her history, her struggles, her great men, and her antiquities, he admired. He declared that he had no mastery over his own thoughts. In early youth, he was no poet, nor was he now, except when the fit was upon him, and he felt his mind agitated and feverish. These attacks, he continued, scarcely ever visited him any where but in Greece; there he felt himself exhilarated—metamorphosed into another person, and with another soul—in short, never had he, but in Greece, written one good line of poetry. This is a fact exaggerated, as facts often are by the impulses of strong feelings. It is not, on that account, less calculated to convey to others the character of Lord Byron's mind, or to impress it the less upon their recollections.

Lord Byron had acquired wandering habits, and they were congenial to his disposition. For five or six months he would remain immovable in one place, and then become flighty and desirous of changing his abode. After his arrival at Cephalonia, he remained for more than a month, without any comforts, on board "The Hercules," and refused Col. Napier's invitation to dwell in his house. He afterwards took up his residence in a small villa at Metaxata: from thence it was equally difficult to move him. Despatch after despatch were expedited from

Greece, praying him to send the money he had lent to the Government, and inviting him to proceed thither in person. He promised, after much solicitation, to comply with their wishes. Notwithstanding this pledge, courier after courier, and ship after ship, were sent for him; and it was not until the fleet and the Suliots were on the point of breaking out into a mutiny in consequence of the "*L'Or*," as they called it, not arriving, and until the English residents were threatened with all the curses and imprecations of the hungry and the frightened, that his Lordship set sail. When this event was announced to the Greeks, who think that money can work miracles, they looked out for the "*L'Or*" with as intense an interest, as if they expected to behold the precious mountains of Peru advancing to save them, and to crush the Turkish host. Judge of their dismay, when they saw the enemy's fleet, from the Gulf of Corinth, crossing the mouth of the harbour in triumph, and when they feared that Lord Byron was taken; and, finally, of their rapture, when they found that his Lordship had been so close to a Turkish frigate, that he had heard the Ottomans conversing, and had, notwithstanding, by his presence of mind, escaped; and that Count Gamba, by his address, had got safe off with his head and the gold from Lepanto.

Once established at Missolonghi, it required some great impetus to move Lord Byron from that unhealthy swamp. On one occasion, when irritated by the Suliots, and the constant applications for money, he intimated his intention to depart. The citizens of Missolonghi and the soldiers grumbled, and communicated to me, through Dr. Meyer, their discontent. I repeated what

I had heard to Lord Byron. He replied, calmly, that he would rather be cut to pieces than imprisoned, for he came to aid the Greeks in their struggle for liberty, and not to be their slave. No wonder that the "Hellenists" endeavoured to impede Lord Byron's departure, for even I, a mere soldier, could not escape from Missolonghi, Athens, Corinth, or Salona, without considerable difficulty. Some time previous to Lord Byron's death, he began to feel a restlessness and a wish to remove to Athens or to Zante.

It has been asserted by many that Lord Byron's valuable life might have been saved by timely bleeding. His Lordship used to say that he "feared less the lance than the lancet." Some of his physicians plead this prejudice in exculpation of their conduct. My opinion, founded on the best information, is, that he might have been persuaded to have been bled sooner, but that certain of his five doctors did not think it of vital importance, and, therefore, courteously yielded for some time to his wishes. Far is it, however, from my intention to calumniate any of the medical men who attended Lord Byron; I am acquainted with them all. I know Bruno, Millingen, Meyer, Freiber, and Luca Vaya, and consider these Italian, English, Swiss, German, and Greek doctors all sincere, and of respectable abilities. Nor can I pretend to give an opinion as to the chances there would have been of Lord Byron's recovery under any other mode of treatment. What I am well convinced of is, that Lord Byron's constitution was broken by excesses: by the workings of his own mad genius, by his wild and racing career, and by the capricious systems of abstinence and of eating and

drinking which he had at times adopted. The proof of this lies in the fact that, for a long period previous to his death, medicines had become a part of his daily food ; without them he could not have existed. Under all these circumstances, it is not very probable that Lord Byron could have recovered from his last severe attack of fever under any course of treatment, and it is next to an impossibility that he could have been long-lived. His bodily functions were in reality destroyed, and his youthful and " burning thoughts " were every instant preying upon his existence.

Among the numerous Calumnies which have been industriously circulated in this country relative to my conduct in Greece, is that of my having acted in factious opposition to Lord Byron. The degraded quarter from whence the mass of these charges proceed, and their total want of truth, absolutely precludes me from replying to them in any manner whatever; but I cannot forbear quoting the testimony which his Lordship himself bears in my favour.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Bowring, he expresses himself in the following terms:—

[*Vide the Extract from Lord Byron's letter, lithographed on the opposite page.*]

MUSTAPHA ALI.

MUSTAPHA ALI.

MUSTAPHA ALI, the youth with whose portrait we present the reader, in illustration of his national costume, was brought to England by Colonel Stanhope, on his return from Greece. His life, though short, has been eventful, and his character is strongly illustrative, even at the early age of ten years, of that semi-barbarous state of morals and society which characterizes the half Europeanized Asiatics, who have for so many ages oppressed the south-eastern extremity of the most civilized portion of the globe.

The father of Mustapha was a Turk, who commanded a small district in the neighbourhood of Argos previously to the Greek revolution; at an early period of which, he, together with his wife and the whole of his family, with the exception of this boy, fell victims to the fury of the enfranchised Greeks. Mustapha Ali alone escaped this dreadful scene of retributive vengeance, to encounter a course of life than which death itself is almost more desirable. Like a dog he prowled about naked for subsistence, and was kicked or fondled as

caprice dictated; and constantly half-starved and destitute of a home. From Argos he followed in the suite of a traveller to Salona, where he again led a similar life to that which he had previously been subjected to. In the summer he laid up and down in the streets, and found refuge for the nights, during the winter, in an oven, which became his favourite dormitory. The menial slave of servants, he performed for them the dirty work which they loathed to undertake; and, though still naked and craving with hunger, the little Turk contrived to make himself agreeable to the Greeks by his good humour and his fun.

At this time, Captain Humphries, happening to pass by Salona, saw Ali, and took a liking to him. He clothed the little orphan, and took him into his suite, of which he quickly became the life and spirit. Released from the state of destitution in which he had been plunged, the gaiety of the boy became greater than ever. Sometimes he rode on a mule at the top of the trunks, sometimes he walked for seven or eight hours together over the mountains; but whatever mode of travelling he chose to adopt he was always at the head of the cavalcade, singing, dancing, mimicking, and laughing at every thing and at every body.

When Colonel Stanhope was recalled by the British government, he offered to take charge of Ali, to which Captain Humphries consented with much reluctance. During his stay in the quarantine-house at Zante, Ali became very partial to the little Turkish girl whom Lord Byron had adopted as a companion to his beloved Ada. On her restoration to her father, Ali was very sorrowful and disconsolate, and wept for her absence for many days.

The same grief was felt on the departure of his former master for Argos; and, days after he was gone, Ali would burst into tears whenever he saw any thing that put him in mind of his protector: on one occasion in particular, when on board ship, he was seen in a retired place weeping bitterly over an embroidered handkerchief which had been given to him by Captain Humphries.

On his arrival in England Ali was dreadfully alarmed lest he should be slaughtered as soon as he had landed, and was most anxious to have been allowed to remain on board. This request could not be complied with, and when, on his coming on shore, he was ordered to mount the stage coach, a kind of conveyance which he had never previously seen, with a precaution indispensable in the country he had so recently quitted, he seated himself on the top of one of his master's trunks and put his legs upon the other, nor could he be induced to quit his post, lest the property should be stolen. His notions of property are indeed far from precise, and he may well be pardoned for suspecting others of that propensity to plunder which formed so marked a feature in the character of those among whom his earliest years had been passed.

Ali now attends the Lancasterian School in the Borough-Road, where he acquits himself so well as to bring home daily a card of merit. He was at first very desirous to have been admitted into the girls' school, but the directors refused, of course, to allow the young Turk to associate with their female pupils. He will not, however, allow that his parents were Turks: it is, indeed, an unpardonable offence to him to be called a

Turk, or even to apply to him his prænomen of Mustapha. He hates the Turks : he hates also to have his tarban touched ; and a gentleman having one day made an effort to take it off, the little barbarian drew his pistol, and raved on account of its not being loaded. His general habits and attachments are military, and he is conversant with the use of arms. On one occasion, when no one could fire a pistol which was out of order, Ali, after repeated trials, rubbed the flint and pan with sulphur, and succeeded in discharging it. He is very fond of dancing, which he performs in a manner closely resembling that of the ancient Greeks, deviating only by firing off his pistols while he twirls. He has also a taste for music and singing, and is an admirable mimic.


It is, however, of more importance to his future well-doing, and to his present character, to state that he is most faithful and obedient to his master's orders. He may indeed be regarded upon the whole as a clever boy, full of talent and feeling, alloyed by pride, obstinacy, revenge, and sundry other vices of his *caste*. 

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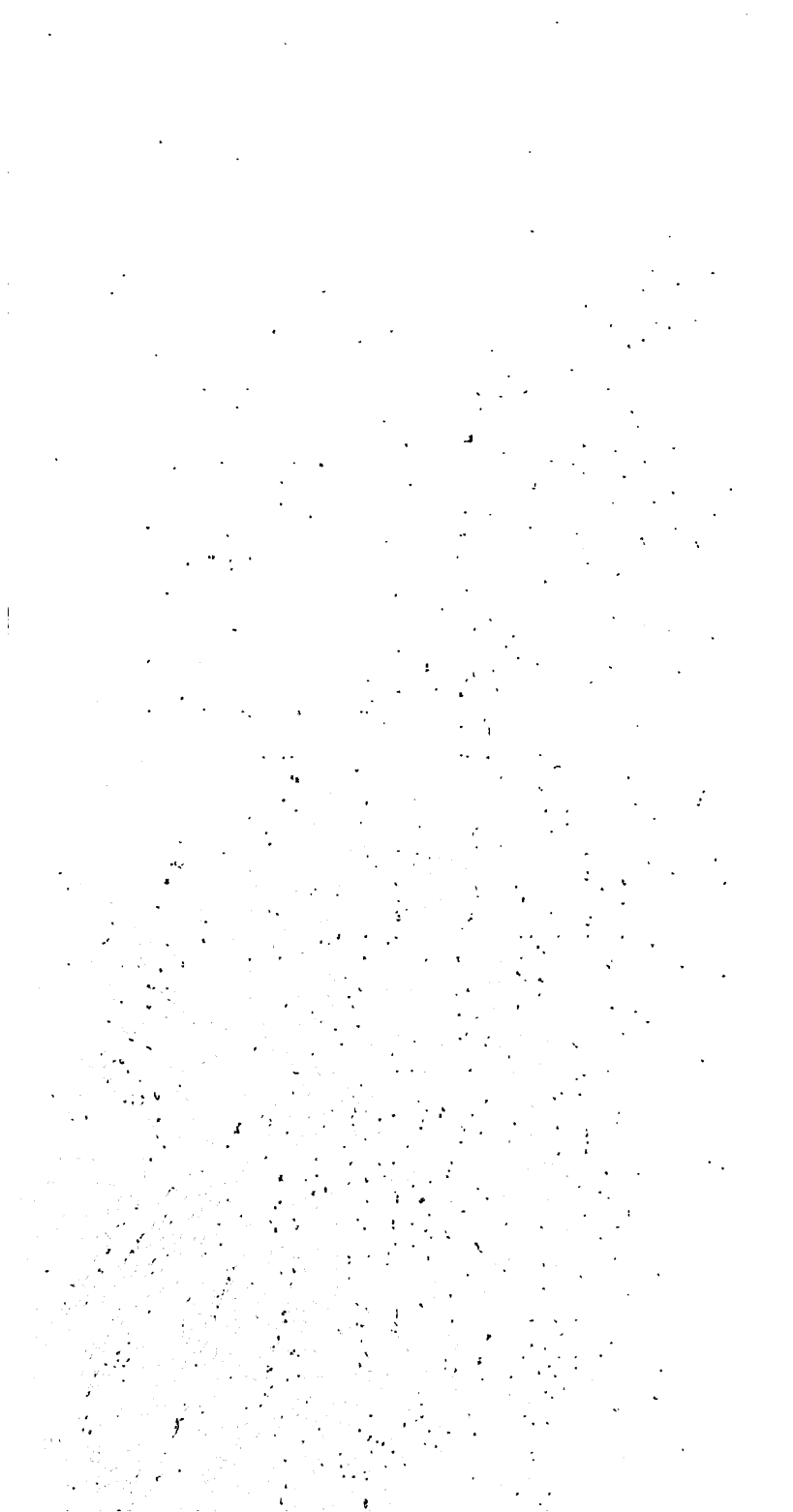
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